

FOURTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

MAINE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

WITH THE MINUTES OF

THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING,

HELD IN AUGUSTA,

On the 7th and 8th of February,

1839.

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REPORT.

In presenting their Fourth Annual Report, the Executive Committee of the Maine Anti-Slavery Society, are cheered by the progress which the cause has made, during the year past, and by its brightening prospects for the future.

THE ADVOCATE OF FREEDOM.

In their efforts to promote the interests committed to their care, the attention of the Committee was first directed to the establishment of a paper, as the means of diffusing Anti-Slavery intelligence, and as the official organ of the Society. The importance of such a paper had been long felt, and arrangements were made, the preceding year, for its establishment. The unprecedented commercial embarrassments, under which the community was suffering, arrested the design. As the State was still under the paralysis occasioned by these embarrassments, the Committee were reduced to the necessity, either of postponing the desired object for another year, or of establishing a paper of moderate size, and at a very limited expense. They chose the latter alternative; and accordingly issued the Advocate of Freedom, a semi-monthly paper, conducted by themselves, at the moderate price of fifty cents per annum. Trivial as this sum may appear, the Committee have indubitable evidence, that at the time the paper was started, it was quite as difficult for most subscribers to pay, as, in ordinary times, the sum required for the support of an Anti-Slavery periodical of the largest class.

The success of this effort, greatly exceeded their most sanguine expectations. The only agency employed in obtaining subscribers, was the spontaneous efforts of friends in various parts of the State. The paper notwithstanding, commenced its ninth number with more than 1200 subscribers. The list has since increased to 1500, and would doubtless have been much more enlarged, had the paper been considered as established on a permanent basis. The circulation for

the year has averaged about 1600 copies. Though laboring under serious embarrassment from the want of an Editor, whose time could be exclusively devoted to it, the paper has nevertheless, it is believed, been of essential advantage to the Anti-Slavery cause in the State. It has placed beyond question the fact that an Anti-Slavery paper in the State, is vitally and essentially necessary to the rapid diffusion of our principles, while, at the same time, it has furnished conclusive evidence that such a paper, if properly conducted, will be well sustained.

The size of the paper is manifestly inadequate to the purposes required, and it must of necessity be enlarged. The only question in regard to it, which would now seem to admit of discussion, is, the extent to which this shall be done.

AGENTS.

The only agent in the field, at the commencement of the year, was the Rev. David Thurston, in the employ of the parent society. Mr. Thurston continued his labors for about seven months, when, yielding to the earnest solicitations of the people, with whom for a long period he had been settled in the ministry, he relinquished his agency, and returned to the discharge among them of the more immediate duties of the pastoral office. Though in a more private capacity, the cause will continue to receive the benefit of his councils and his active support. To his influence and efforts it is largely indebted for its present state of advancement in Maine. Among the first, in its very infancy, to lift up his voice for the oppressed, he has been through evil report as well as good report, its firm, persevering, unflinching advocate. Few, it is believed, have made greater sacrifices, whether of ease or personal comfort or reputation for its promotion. The blessing of those that are ready to perish rest upon him.

The very acceptable services of Mr. I. Codding at the last Annual Meeting, and in several places which he visited immediately after, created a strong desire that his labors should be continued in the State. The Committee were happy in being able to make an arrangement with Mr. Codding, by which he became our State agent for the year. Mr. Codding commenced his labors in the month of July last. Since that period, he has given full courses of seven or eight lectures, in several of our more important towns, has attended at the organization and other public meetings of the County Societies formed within the year, has given numerous single lectures, and devoted no inconsiderable portion of time and effort to the establishment of the plan of Quarterly subscriptions. The Committee

entertain a high sense of the value of the services rendered by Mr. Coddington. And, in common with all who have had the privilege of listening to his lucid exposition of the great principles for which we are contending—to his spirit-stirring appeals in behalf of the oppressed, they believe the continuance of his services in the State, is of the highest importance to the rapid progress of the cause.

In addition to Mr. Coddington, the Committee have employed for the last three months, Mr. C. L. Remond, who had for a short time previous been lecturing in the State, in the service of the parent society. Mr. Remond has labored with good success. Many, it is believed, have been induced to attend his lectures, who otherwise would not have been brought within the reach of the truth, from the manifest propriety, generally felt and acknowledged, that the colored man should himself plead the cause of his suffering people.

In this connection, the Committee gratefully record the very valuable service rendered to the cause, by several of our most respected clergymen, who have felt it to be a part of their ministerial duty, as well as an inestimable privilege, to labor in their immediate vicinity, as opportunities have occurred, for the suffering and the dumb. It is earnestly hoped that these worthy examples will be extensively followed; especially, as it is upon this species of labor, that we must mainly depend, not only to advance, but also to sustain the present interest felt for the slave.

NEW SOCIETIES.

The Committee have not the means of stating the number of new Societies, formed within the year. Less attention has been paid to this object, than, at an earlier period of the cause, was deemed to be necessary. Large accessions to our numbers have however, it is well known, been made.

In accordance with the resolution passed at the last Annual Meeting, County Societies have been organized, for the Counties of Somerset, Piscataquis, Franklin, Kennebec, Lincoln, and York. The Conventions for organizing these Societies, were, in general, of a deeply interesting character, and eminently adapted to give a new impulse to the cause in the Counties, in which they were held. Arrangements are in progress, for the establishment of similar Societies in other Counties in the State. The importance of these Associations cannot be too deeply felt. They furnish the occasion of making the local Societies within their limits more intimately acquainted, of strengthening the bonds of fraternal feeling, of rekindling the zeal of the friends, of effecting more unity of effort, while they serve to bring into requisition much talent in behalf of the oppressed, which would otherwise be comparatively lost to the cause.

FUNDS.

From the Report of the Treasurer, it appears that the sum of \$2218,16 has been received by contributions, since the last Anniversary. If to this we add the amount paid for the Advocate of Freedom and other similar periodicals, the whole amount raised during the year, will be found to exceed \$3000,00 Should the business of the community, as is now confidently expected, return to its ordinary state of activity and be attended with the usual degree of success, twice this sum may undoubtedly be raised, with more facility, the ensuing year.

Of the \$2218,10, directly contributed, \$1110,36 have been paid over to the Treasurer of the Parent Society. The balance has been expended under the direction of the Committee. Fully recognizing our high obligations to the Parent Society, we earnestly recommend the most strenuous efforts to contribute liberally to its funds, as well as to sustain our own operations in the State.

PETITIONS.

On the subject of petitioning, the friends of the slave in Maine have hitherto fallen short of the measure of duty. Until within the present year, comparatively few petitions have been forwarded to Congress or our State Legislature. The importance of this instrumentality is now beginning to be duly felt, and the number of petitions has in consequence been much increased.

At the last session of our State Legislature, petitions were sent in, requesting action on the subject of Slavery in the District. The petitions were referred to a joint select Committee, before whom the petitioners had repeated hearings. On this occasion valuable service was rendered by Mr. Codding, afterwards our State agent, who addressed the Committee with much power and effect. The Committee reported favorably upon the prayer of the petitioners, and accompanied their report with the following resolution.

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States has the right, under the Federal Constitution; to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; and it is considered that the exercise of this right would not be inconsistent with the good faith and lasting honor of our country.

Through the indefatigable exertions of Gen. Appicton, chairman of the Committee, the House at length agreed to consider the resolution. And, notwithstanding many of the members were manifestly indisposed to any action upon it, it was finally carried by a vote of 69 to 62.

The Preamble to the resolution which was also adopted by the same vote, affirms that "the continuance of slavery within the sacred

inclosure and chosen seat of the National Government is inconsistent with a due regard to the enlightened judgment of mankind, and with all just pretensions on our part to the character of a free people; and is adapted to bring into contempt republican liberty, and render its influence powerless throughout the world." It also affirms the important fact, that the history of the period within which the cession of the District was made, furnishes numerous facts, all going to show the *expectation* of the American people, that Congress would exert its powers, upon all proper occasions, to prevent the extension of slavery, and to remove it from those places over which it might have undisputed jurisdiction.

This important preamble and resolution, we regret to state, was laid upon the table, in the upper branch of the Legislature, by nearly a party vote.

Numerous petitions are now flowing in, praying the Legislature to pass resolutions, affirming the right of Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District and in Florida, and to prohibit the slave trade between the States, also against the annexation of Texas or the admission of any new slave State into the Union. And praying also the Legislature to instruct the Senators and to request our Representatives in Congress, to use their utmost influence for the promotion of these several objects. It is hoped that these petitions will receive the favorable consideration of the Legislature. The action sought for, is of the utmost importance to the cause of the slave, and no effort should be spared for its attainment. The petitions of individuals to Congress may, for an indefinite period, remain unanswered. But let the Legislatures of the free States, speak out with united voice and in decided terms, upon these great national questions, and the ear now so dull of hearing will be opened, and the desired action on the part of Congress cannot long be deferred.

ECCLESIASTICAL ACTION.

The evils of slavery in a political and economical point of view, enormous as they are, are utterly insignificant, when compared with those of a moral and religious nature. The Committee cannot therefore but regard with deep interest the movements of the different religious bodies in relation to the cause of the slave.

It cannot for a moment be doubted, that it is in the power of the Southern Church, understanding by this expression the great body of professed christians at the South, to bring about the speedy termination of slavery. We speak not in exaggerated terms when we say, that the Southern Church holds in her hands the keys of the great prison house of American bondage. She may, when she pleases, open the doors, break the chains of the captives, bring them

out to the glorious light of day, and restore them to the sweets of liberty and to all the immunities and privileges of the free.

The solitary individual, who may, at the South, bear his testimony against its giant iniquity, may be laughed down as a poor deluded fanatic, as a miserable specimen of moon-struck humanity; or he may be subjected to the inflictions of the code Lynch; or, in accordance with Senator Preston's murderous threat, be hung upon the gallows. But this cannot be done with the whole church. Let the great mass of professed Christians at the South, or any one of the leading denominations, awake to the discharge of duty; let those who minister at the altar cry aloud and spare not; let them lift up their voice as a trumpet to warn the people of their great transgression; let the private members of the churches respond to the cry, and pastors and private members enforce their teachings by a consistent example—and the death blow to slavery is struck. In this view of the subject, the actual position of the southern church in reference to the enslaved, becomes a matter of deep and solemn interest. And how mournful the spectacle here presented! The great body of the church polluted with the very sin it ought to reprove! The southern church hugging closely, and more closely still, to her bosom, the putrid carcass that, by her own confession, is sickening and destroying her!—She that should be a light to others, herself the source of darkness!—she that should be the teacher of others, herself the blind leader of the blind!—she that should be a fountain of purity and life, the noxious communicator of moral pestilence and death!

As a general fact, southern church members are holders of slaves. Yea, even from their own brethren in Christ, they withhold the lamp of life, deny them marriage as a legal right, consign them over to concubinage or indiscriminate prostitution, sell for gain the image of their Lord, and make merchandize of the purchase of his blood. Says the Rev. James Smylie of Mississippi, himself a Reverend defender of slavery, "If the buying, selling or holding a slave for the sake of gain is a heinous sin and scandal, then verily, three fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians in eleven States of the Union are of the devil. They hold, if they do not buy and sell slaves."

Southern christians and christian ministers, stand in the front rank of the apologists of slavery, side by side, with the Calhouns, the Harpers, the McDuffies of the South. They come out in public, with the Bible in their hands for its defence. They torture the writings of prophets and apostles in its support. And blasphemously charge the sanctioning this mystery of iniquity, this monstrous system of outrage and wrong, upon Him whose express command is, "to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the

oppressed go free, and to break every yoke." Openly and unblushingly, is the doctrine now taught by Southern christians, in accordance it is feared with the general sentiment of the churches, that there is no moral evil in slavery,—no moral evil in a system which darkens intellect, destroys responsibility, effaces the image of God from the soul, and pollutes all that are connected with it! Thus, so far from exerting an influence for the destruction of slavery, the Southern church has become its main pillar and support.

The truth of these allegations may be established by the most indubitable testimony. We omit the sickening details however, with a few exceptions by way of illustration.

The Rev. J. C. Postell in an address to the citizens of Orangeburg S. C. draws the following conclusions, viz:

"From what has been premised, the following conclusions, result: 1. That slavery is a judicial visitation. 2. *That it is not a moral evil.* 3. *That it is supported by the Bible.* 4. It has existed in all ages. It is not a moral evil. The fact that slavery is of DIVINE APPOINTMENT, would be proof enough with the Christian that it cannot be a moral evil. So far from being a moral evil, it is a *merciful visitation. It is the Lord's doings and marvellous in our eyes.*

The Charleston Union Presbytery,

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Presbytery, the holding of slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is no where condemned in his Holy Word—that it is in accordance with the example or consistent with the precepts of patriarchs, prophets and apostles.

The Harmony Presbytery of South Carolina, passed unanimously the following among other resolutions:

Resolved, That as the relative duties of master and slave are taught in the Scriptures, in the same manner as those of parent and child, and husband and wife, the existence of slavery itself is not opposed to the will of God; and whosoever has a conscience too tender to recognize the relation as lawful, is 'righteous over much,' is 'wise above what is written,' and has submitted his neck to the yoke of man, sacrificed his christian liberty of conscience, and leaves the infallible word of God for the fancies and doctrines of men.

The Georgia Annual Conference, unanimously adopted the following preamble and resolution, viz:

Whereas there is a clause in the discipline of our church which states, that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of *slavery*—and whereas the said clause has been perverted by some, and used in such a manner, as to produce the impression that the Methodist Episcopal church believed *slavery* to be a *moral evil*,

Therefore, *Resolved*, that it is the sense of the Georgia Annual Conference that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is **NOT A MORAL EVIL.**

The Synod of Virginia,

Resolved, unanimously, That we consider the dogma fiercely promulgated by said associations (A. S.)—that slavery as it actually exists in our slave-holding States, is necessarily sinful, and ought to be immediately abolished, and the conclusions which naturally follow from that dogma, as directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the word of God.

The Southern Delegation to the General Assembly of 1836, in private meeting, passed the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, That if the Assembly shall undertake to exercise authority on the subject of slavery, so as to make it an immorality, or shall in any way declare that Christians are criminal in holding slaves, that a declaration shall be presented by the Southern Delegation, declining their jurisdiction in the case, and our determination not to submit to such decision.

At the Shiloh Baptist Association, which met at Gourdvine, Va., in September last, the following query, says the Religious Herald, was presented from Hedgman River Church, viz:

"Is a servant whose husband or wife has been sold by his or her master into a distant country, to be permitted to marry again?"

The query was referred to a Committee, who made the following report; which after discussion was adopted.

"That in view of the circumstances in which servants in this country are placed, the Committee are unanimous in the opinion, that it is better to permit servants thus circumstanced to take another husband or wife."

Here, in accordance with the general practice at the South, are two direct violations of the commands of God, publicly sanctioned by professed ministers and disciples of Christ.

1st. The forcible separation of husband and wife against the divine prohibition, "what God hath joined, let not man put asunder."

2d. The commission of adultery by the parties thus separated, in the violation of the precept "Whosoever putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery, and whosoever marrieth her that is put away committeth adultery."

A similar decision was made, upon the same point, by the Savannah Baptist Association of ministers; and this horrid abomination, this high handed sin against God and man, this fatal stab at the sanctity of the marriage institution, the peace and purity of families, and the very existence of the social state, was defended upon the following impious grounds: 1st. That "the separation in such cases is civilly a separation by death." The Association, in their recorded opinion, declaring that "The slaves are not free agents"!! 2d. That to

forbid marriage in such cases would expose the slaves "to strong temptations and stronger hardships," as well as render them liable "to Church censure for acting in obedience to their masters," who, the better to keep up the supply for the nefarious traffic in the bodies and souls of men, or the stock on their plantations, might require them to marry again—the precepts of Christ, to the contrary notwithstanding.

If salvation is to flow out of Zion, if the Church is indeed the appointed medium through which light and life are to be universally disseminated, if amidst abounding iniquity reform is to commence in the church, and through the penitence, prayers, expostulations and efforts of its members, is to spread through the mass of society,—And if the Southern branch of the church is not given over to judicial blindness and hardness of heart, if her candlestick is not to be removed out of its place, and ICHABOD written upon her glory,—what a work is to be performed within her, and how should she be straightened until it be accomplished!

If the suffering bondman is to wait in his chains until the Church come to his relief, if his tears are to be unnoticed, his groanings unheard, his woes unalleviated, his wrongs unredressed, until the Church undertakes his cause,—then how are we bound, with all the pity of humanity in our hearts, to spare no effort to arouse our sleeping, sinning fellow christians of the South, to a sense of their solemn responsibilities to the enslaved, and to the immediate discharge of imperative duty.

On the question of slavery we have at the North a source of influence, which we cannot fail to employ without participating in the sin of the South, and if she perish, without partaking in her plagues. The relation existing between Northern and Southern christians as members of the body of Christ, renders the question of duty plain. "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor and not suffer sin upon him," is the command of the Great Jehovah,—and if the Northern churches fail to discharge this duty to the churches of the South, they in fact connive at their iniquity and consent unto their guilt. This would be universally admitted, if the Southern churches were in the commission of any ordinary iniquity. Let Southern christians teach and practice in accordance with the doctrine, that there is no moral evil in robbery upon the highway, but that in some circumstances it is justifiable and proper, and the Northern churches would feel themselves bound to protest against the impious heresy, and to spare no effort to rescue our common Christianity from the foul reproach, thus cast upon it. Are they, in any wise, released from the duty, if the robbery, thus justified, extends not merely to the property but to the person of the sufferer; if he should be spoiled

not merely of his substance, but of himself, his wife, his children, substance and all? Are we to be very conscientious about mere preadillos, while giant iniquities stalk abroad unreprieved? Are we in duty bound not to suffer sin upon our neighbor, and shall we, as christians, utter no note of remonstrance, when our Southern fellow christians practice and defend the sin of slavery?—a sin which includes within itself every form of iniquity that can be named; by which every command of the decalogue is broken, every principle of morality set at naught, and which, in all its effects immediate and remote, is the most perfect consummation of all villainies, that earth has yet witnessed.

Southern christians come up in crowds to the North. We meet them every where, in our stages and steamboats, in the private circle and public assembly. We go in company with them to the house of God, and unite with them in the various benevolent operations of the day. Thus opportunities are continually occurring for efficient effort to bring them to repentance for their sin. While all other suitable methods, many of which will readily occur, are not to be neglected, it is chiefly to the different Ecclesiastical organizations of the North, that we most look, as the most effective mediums through which our condemnation of slavery shall be expressed. These represent large masses of christians, and they are well known at the South. Their opinions therefore, it may fairly be presumed, will be received with respect, and their faithful, pungent appeals to the consciences and hearts of their Southern fellow christians, cannot fail to produce a salutary effect. Indeed, as might naturally be expected, the inquiry is often raised at the South, if Slavery is in fact such an enormity in the sight of God, why do not the *good men* of the North, who are in circumstances peculiarly favorable to form a correct judgment in the matter, tell us so; and in tones befitting their convictions, reprove us for our sin.

Admitting the obligation to be in some degree felt, yet, from the nature of the case, a bold and decided action on the part of the Southern churches is not to be expected, until the churches of the North are aroused to the subject—until the spirit of abolition takes a deep hold of the hearts of their members, and on all suitable occasions, is sent forth in the earnest tone of affectionate remonstrance, rebuke, and entreaty. Were the Southern church thoroughly aroused to commence the conflict with slavery, she must still in a great degree, lean upon the Northern churches for support. She would stand in need of all the moral aid in their power to bestow. And especially should she be cheered on, in the contest, by their zealous co-operation, their active sympathy and their prayers.

We rejoice to record that during the year past, the cause of the slave

has received an increased attention, on the part of the different religious bodies in the State.

Our brethren of the Free-will Baptist denomination, in all their Yearly Meetings, have fully responded to the decided testimony against slavery, borne by their last General Conference. The strong interest, manifested by almost this entire denomination, in behalf of the slave, is doubtless, in a great degree, to be attributed to the course pursued by their official organ, the Morning Star. A paper, which, to its lasting honor, has, from the commencement of the Anti-slavery movement, earnestly and efficiently plead the cause and vindicated the rights of the suffering bondman.

As a specimen of the resolutions passed in the different Yearly Meetings of this body in the State, we take the following passed unanimously by the Kennebec Meeting.

1. Whereas God has said loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free; and whereas the chains which American Slavery has forged, are bands of wickedness, the burdens this system has bound on men's necks, are heavy, and the yoke it has put on men's necks is grievous to be borne—and as the christian church is deeply stained with the blood of souls, murdered by the demon of slavery,

Resolved, That it is the duty of the christian church to purify herself from this foul blot, by discussing the subject, by petitioning Congress for its abolition, by praying fervently to the Father of mercies to crown these labors with success, by a firm unyielding zeal, in every constitutional manner, to endeavor to correct public sentiment at the North, and convince the South of the evil of Slavery, and the safety of immediate and entire abolition of this cruel system.

2. Whereas the christian church constitutes that organized body, through which the light of heaven is reflected upon this dark world, Therefore,

Resolved, That it is the solemn duty of all its members, and especially of all its ministers, to cry aloud and spare not against the system of slavery as existing in the U. States, a system of legalized theft, robbery, adultery, and murder; and that they should never hold their peace till this foul blot is washed out of our American soil.

3. *Resolved*, That the house of God is a suitable and very appropriate place for the friends of weeping humanity to speak out for the dumb, and plead the cause of the oppressed, Therefore we consider it anti-republican and anti-christian, for any religious society or church to close their house of worship against the discussion of the heaven-daring sin of Slavery.

The several Associations of the Calvinist Baptist denomination, have either passed strong resolutions on the subject of slavery and its abolition, or reaffirmed those of their last Convention. We take the following, passed by the Hancock Association.

When it is considered that but a few years ago the public mind was wrapped in profound slumber on the subject of Slavery, the

rapid progress of the Anti-Slavery cause is matter of devout gratitude to Almighty God. Convinced as we are of the correctness of the principle of immediate and entire emancipation, and of the benefits which would result to all the parties concerned if this principle was carried into practical operation; therefore

1. *Resolved*, That we recommend to all our brethren and christian friends, the Journal of Thome and Kimball, as containing interesting information on the subject of Slavery in the British West Indies, and as showing conclusively the safety and beneficial results of immediate emancipation.

And whereas the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ, more especially in the slaveholding region, are polluted by the great evil of Slavery, and as it is manifestly opposed to the genius and spirit of the gospel: therefore

2. *Resolved*, That it is the imperious duty of the ministers and members of our churches to take a deeper interest in this important subject, and exert themselves for the sanctification of the churches, and the overthrow of the whole system of Slavery.

In the Eastern Baptist, a paper sustained by a large and respectable portion of this denomination, a very prominent place has been given to the question of slavery. A large amount of valuable Anti-slavery matter has been extensively circulated through its columns, and to it the cause in Maine is largely indebted, for its able advocacy of our doctrines and measures.

The Penobscot, Kennebec, Washington, Somerset, Franklin and Union Congregational Conferences, have passed decided resolutions condemnatory of slavery, and warmly commending the cause of the enslaved to the sympathies, prayers and efforts of christians. The following are the resolutions passed by the Kennebec Conference.

Resolved, 1. That slaveholding in these United States, is a great sin, hindering the success of the gospel, and destructive to the souls of men; and that it is the appropriate duty of ministers and churches to attempt its removal.

Resolved, 2d. That as long as any of our countrymen at the North or the South excuse slaveholding, or which is the same thing, holding and using men as articles of property, it will be a solemn duty to show the intrinsic sinfulness of the practice and to bear against it our decided solemn christian testimony.

Resolved, 3d. That the churches which give their sanction to this heinous sin have strong claims upon our compassion, and that we cannot innocently suffer the sin upon them.

Resolved, 4th. That peace secured by the sacrifice of principle and the neglect of duty, is more to be dreaded, because more fatal to the souls of men, than agitation occasioned by proclaiming the whole truth in love.

Resolved, 5th. That this Conference renew their recommendation to the churches to abound in prayer for the speedy and peaceful termination of the American system of slaveholding oppression.

Resolved, 6th. That while the recent termination of slavery in the

West Indies calls for devout rejoicing and praise, it strengthens the belief that by the blessing of God in answer to prayer, upon faithful persevering effort, the same system in this country will be abolished, and that some of us will live to hear the tramp of jubilee sounding liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof.

The remaining Conferences belonging to this body, have all, we believe, remained silent on the subject, with the exception of Lincoln Conference, which by its Committee of Arrangements decided against any agitation of the question, either by resolution or discussion.

The reason usually assigned for thus refusing to consider the cause of the slave, is its supposed necessity to the preservation of the peace and harmony of the churches. 'The peace of the church is unquestionably an important object, and worthy any sacrifice which may be innocently made for its attainment. The peace to be sought however, is 'the effect of righteousness,'—a peace which springs up spontaneously in the church, the natural result, the visible indication of the purity of its members, and their efficiency in the thorough discharge of every duty. That the free discussion of the condition of our enslaved countrymen, the consideration of their strong claims upon our sympathies and efforts, and the unequivocal utterance of those sentiments, which become us as christians, in view of their oppression and the enormous wickedness of the system under which they are crushed, would, in reality, disturb the peace and harmony of our religious bodies, we are slow to believe. The assertion of such a fact, is a reflection upon the piety of these bodies, which ought not to be lightly made; and which, were it to come from any other quarter than that from which it actually proceeds, we could regard in no other light, than as a malicious slander. The testimony before us is abundant to the fact, which we should unhesitatingly infer without it, that an increased attention to the cause of the slave in any church, has always been attended by an immediate elevation of the piety of its members, an increase of sympathy for the cause of suffering humanity in all lands, and an enlargement of heart to labor and pray for the more speedy establishment of that kingdom, in which righteousness and peace shall prevail, and in which, as matter of course, the sighing of the captive shall be unheard, the rod of the oppressor unknown. And such we believe will be the uniform result, except indeed in bodies professedly religious, which have a name to live but are dead.

In the Methodist denomination, resolutions against slavery have been passed by the Gardiner Quarterly Meeting, and by the Vienna and Mercer Circuit. Our efficient and devoted brethren of this denomination have however been materially restrained, as it respects this particular mode of action, by the Pacification measure adopted at their last Annual Conference, to secure as was expected,

the harmony of the body and unity of action on the subject of slavery. The measure having failed to accomplish its object, will doubtless be abandoned at the next meeting of the Conference.

POLITICAL ACTION.

At the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the importance of promoting the cause of the slave by suitable political action, was distinctly recognized, and the subject has since to a greater or less extent, been constantly kept in view. During the past year, a new interest in it has been awakened.

The right of suffrage is not merely a privilege. It is a most sacred and important trust, to be employed, under a solemn sense of responsibility to God, in the promotion of the public good. As abolitionists we profess to believe, that slavery is a most heinous sin against God and man, and in the highest degree injurious to the welfare of society. We are bound therefore to attempt its removal not merely by moral suasion, or appeals to the conscience of the slaveholder, but also by the right use of whatever political power we possess.

It is unquestionably in the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District and Florida, to put a stop to the slave trade between the States, and to refuse the admission of any new slave State into the Union. The free States possess a clear majority in Congress. These several objects will therefore be accomplished, whenever the public sentiment in the free States shall demand it, and that sentiment is properly represented in Congress. We are under solemn obligations therefore not only to diffuse through the community correct sentiments on the subject of slavery, but also to make all proper efforts to place in our National Legislature, men who will use the power, committed to their hands, in accordance with our views.

Nor do we cease to use moral means when we act politically. When at the polls, we give our votes for such men only, as will go to the extent of their constitutional powers for the abolition of slavery, we bear to the South our solemn testimony against the system, and in the most expressive manner, proclaim our deep conviction that it is wrong and ought to be universally abandoned.

Consistency demands that we should vote against slavery as well as speak and write, and form Societies and hold public meetings with a view to its abolition. With what propriety can we call upon the planters of the South to abolish Slavery upon *their* plantations, while we maintain it upon our own, the District of Columbia? With what grace can we inveigh against the piratical slave trade between the States, while we permit the District over which, through Congress, we have entire control, to become a great national slave-

market, where human beings, are continually bought and sold, and all the atrocities of the bloody traffic, in the bodies and souls of men, perpetrated at noonday.

The continuance of slavery in the District, while it is manifestly in our power, through our agents and representatives in Congress, to abolish it, is a public admission, that in some circumstances, it is right, and may rightfully be maintained. It is in fact a verdict of the nation in its favor. Let that verdict be reversed, and by its abolition in the District, the national brand of infamy stamped upon it—and it must die. Of this the slaveholder is aware. Hence the desperate effort to shut out light, to arrest all discussion of the subject on the floor of Congress, and to maintain the system in the District at all hazards. The District then is the spot, where the first onset upon slavery is to be made,—the battle-ground, where the great contest between Liberty and Slavery is to be decided. Not to employ our political, as well as all other resources, in the conflict, would be, not merely wrong, but the very height of folly.

In order to accomplish the objects to be effected by political action, it is not necessary, nor is it proposed, to form a distinct political party with separate candidates for public office. Against such a measure there are strong and decided objections. Its tendency, in all probability, would be to retard, rather than hasten the day of emancipation.

The Anti-Slavery cause, embraces men of all political parties, as well as of every sect in religion. So far as the two great parties of the day are concerned, we hold to no principles, as abolitionists, that both do not publicly profess. The object we are desirous to accomplish, does not interfere with any, at which either professedly aims. In both are to be found men, well qualified for office, and worthy of public confidence, as consistent friends of equal and impartial liberty. Let it then be distinctly settled, that no man, under any possible combination of circumstances, can receive the votes of abolitionists, who will not go to the extent of his constitutional powers for the abolition of slavery—and both parties will soon, either from policy or necessity, present candidates for public office for whom we may vote, in consistency with our party predilections, and in subservency also to paramount duty to the slave.

The friends of the cause all admit, in general terms, the propriety of employing the elective franchise in its promotion. But many shrink from making an adhesion to our fundamental principles, the test, by which their vote shall, in all cases, be determined. To settle, on this subject, the question of duty forever, all that is necessary,

it would seem, is to establish a comparizon between the objects, for which as abolitionists, we are contending, and any or all of those that form the basis of existing party organizations.

The question, whether the financial concerns of the Government shall be managed, through the intervention of a National Bank or a Sub-Treasury, is probably of more importance than all others, that impart so prodigious a degree of activity to the party movements of the day. But this question is, after all, a mere commercial one—a question of dollars and cents, and not of inalienable rights. Compared with the great question, whether the principle of equality, on which our republican institutions are based, shall be extended to all the inhabitants of the land; the three millions of our enslaved countrymen restored to the rights, which by violence have been wrested from them; taken out from the irresponsible despotism under which they toil and die, and placed under law, subject to its restraints and blessed with its protection;—whether the Bible, with its life-giving, regenerating influences shall be put in the hands of the three millions of heathen in this christian land, reduced to or continued in this state by the system of atominations under which republican despotism has placed them; the glorious light of the gospel be suffered to shine upon them without obstruction, and all the means of intellectual and moral elevation be freely applied to them;—whether the three millions of human beings, born in the image of God, endowed with an immortal nature and a deathless spirit, but converted by slaveholding law into chattels personal, shall be reconverted into men, reinvested with personal ownership, and made free, intelligent and happy subjects of our common country;—whether the volcanic fires over which the South is now slumbering shall be quenched, the elements of a convulsion which may, at any moment, shake our social fabric to its foundations be removed; the overflowing fountain of disunion and civil discord dried up;—whether at the North, we shall be released from our obligations to fight the battle of despotism at the South, and pour out our hearts blood in a controversy, in which, in the language of Jefferson, the Almighty has no attribute that can take part with us;—whether as a nation we shall be exalted by righteousness in the emancipation of our three millions of slaves, or persevering in oppression, perish, under plagues more intolerable than those that laid waste slaveholding Egypt, the star of our country's glory going down in oceans of blood;—compared with this, the question of Bank or no Bank, Sub-treasury or no Sub-treasury, dwindles into utter insignificance. It is as the finite by the side of the infinite.—To prefer therefore any mere party interest to the cause of our oppressed countrymen, would seem to indicate an

exceedingly feeble apprehension of the amazing value of human rights,—an exceedingly low estimate of our duties and responsibilities, as American citizens—Deliberately to throw aside our Anti-Slavery principles at the polls, is basely to betray the cause of the slave,—it is treason against humanity.

Nor is this preference of a common object to all mere party measures, an Utopian or impracticable idea. On this point the South has taught us an invaluable lesson, which we should not be slow to learn. Differing as widely and intensely upon questions of party politics as the North, there is one interest, which the South has steadily regarded as paramount to all others, and to which all others have uniformly been made subservient—the support and defence of her patriarchal system. United on this, the South is enabled to select the chief magistrate of the nation, determine the presiding officer in both branches of Congress, wield the whole political power of the country in aid of her peculiar institution, and give law to the Union. Let there be the same zeal for liberty at the North, as there is for slavery at the South; the same readiness at the North, to sacrifice all minor considerations to the glorious work of extending the blessings of civil and religious freedom to three millions of slaves, as there is at the South, to the infamous purpose of retaining them in hopeless, eternal bondage,—and all that we can desire to effect by political action, will be speedily accomplished. The power, now wielded in support of the chattel institution, will be turned with tremendous effect, to accomplish its overthrow.

In this State, questioning of candidates for public office, with a view to intelligent political action, has been pursued to some extent, and as we believe, on the whole, with advantage to the cause. It must be confessed however, that here, as elsewhere, there has been, on the part of abolitionists, a shameful dereliction of duty at the polls.

We are disposed to take no desponding views of the progress of the cause, from this fact. It is some apology for our friends, who have apparently sacrificed their Anti-Slavery principles upon the altar of party, that the subject of political action, has been but little discussed in the State, and the question of duty therefore, has not been carefully examined and settled. Long cherished habits moreover, are not changed in a moment. And it is not surprising that the 'expulsive power' of the Anti-slavery sentiment, should require some little time, to expel from the heart those minor attachments, which come into conflict with it.

The subject of political action has recently been fully discussed at the meetings of several of the County Societies, and the strong reso-

lution of Mr. Goodell, affirming the duty of political action, adopted, in the end, with great unanimity. On the whole, the evidence is encouraging, that abolitionists generally in the State will go right on this subject, as soon as the question of duty comes to be duly considered.—That we shall not again present the monstrous anomaly of petitioning Congress to use its acknowledged powers for the termination of slavery, while by our votes we help to send men there, who we know beforehand will refuse our petitions, and at the bidding of slavery, scornfully trample upon the sacred right of petition itself. The day we trust, has passed, that the slave-holder, or the Northern apologist and defender of slavery, can be elevated to the high place of power, by aid of the votes of the friends of the slave in Maine. Or, to illustrate our remarks by a particular case, Mr. Van Buren, we think must abandon his “southern principles,” and Henry Clay, the eloquent advocate of South American and Grecian liberty, emancipate his slaves, before either can receive the suffrages of intelligent abolitionists in the Pole-star State.

While, in other respects, we freely indulge in our political preferences, it is our duty as abolitionists to stand aloof from all existing party organizations. Our true policy is, to impress our principles upon all, while we form no alliance with any. By both, according as it might best promote their peculiar interests, we have been alternately courted and repelled. We have no reason to suppose that either are prepared to adopt the measures, we are desirous to promote. To secure the favor of the South, both have disclaimed all sympathy for our peculiar views, and each has endeavored to fasten upon the other abolitionism as a sin. The shallow effort is beginning to be rightly appreciated at the South. All mere *professions* of opposition to abolitionism, serve only to induce a suspicion of the hypocrisy of those that make them. The South demands *practical* evidence of a sacred regard for her peculiar institution. The true test of sincerity, is the readiness to sacrifice whenever the occasion may require it, the dearest rights and interests of the North, at the shrine of the southern Moloch. Effectually to secure her favor, our politicians must take their stand upon the southern corner stone of Republican institutions,—the unblushing advocates, the practical defenders of ETERNAL SLAVERY. And when they have done this; they will receive, as many of them now do, the fit reward of traitors to the cause of human rights,—the ineffable scorn, the utter contempt of their slaveholding allies.

That abolitionists have, thus far, pursued an impartial course, in regard to the leading parties of the day, may be satisfactorily proved by documentary evidence. So far as both honestly labor to reform

the greatest abuse existing under our own, or any civilized government on earth, they are entitled to our hearty co-operation and respect. We go with both, so far as they go with us in promoting the cause of immediate emancipation, and no further. We stand opposed to both, and shall not fail to make our opposition manifest, just so far as *they* stand opposed to the sacred cause of universal freedom. Of one thing both may with propriety be reminded. The instinct of self-preservation, should teach both to be cautious, how they commit themselves against us. One thing is certain, whatever party succeeds or fails, whether in approaching political contests, Whig or Democrat prevail, the great principles for which, as abolitionists, we are contending are destined to a speedy triumph. The abolition car, freighted with the precious rights of millions, is on its victorious way, with more than rail road speed. With due respect, we say to aspiring politicians,—beware how you cross its track. Your puny efforts to arrest its course will be unavailing,—but you may be crushed in its onward irresistible career.

GEORGIA DEMAND ON MAINE.

Among the occurrences of the year which deserve special notice, is the repetition of the demand of the Governor of Georgia, upon the Governor of this State, for the bodies of Daniel Philbrook and Edward Kellerman, as fugitives from the justice of Georgia.

The facts of this case are briefly these. Philbrook was master and Kellerman mate of a schooner lying at Savannah in May, 1837. A slave affirmed to belong to one Sagurs of that place, found means to secrete himself on board the vessel, so far as it appears, without the knowledge of the Captain or Mate, and was not discovered until the vessel was far on her way to Thomaston, the place of her destination. On the arrival of the vessel, the slave was permitted to leave her, without any attempt to restrain him.

The Captain and Mate are charged with feloniously stealing the slave, and the demand is made in order that they may be transported to Savannah, and there tried for the alleged offence, for which the laws of Georgia inflict a severe and ignominious punishment.

The demand was made, in the first instance, upon Governor Dunlap; who refused compliance in consequence of some informality in the papers, and from want of sufficient evidence that the crime had been committed as charged. The defect in the papers was remedied, and the demand repeated upon Gov. Kent, who likewise refused to surrender the persons, upon the ground of the want of satisfactory evidence, that they were fugitives from the justice of Georgia within the meaning of the Constitution.

In his reply to the letter of the Governor of Georgia accompanying the demand, Gov. Kent maintains that the Constitution does not, in the clause requiring the delivering up of fugitives, deprive the Executive, upon whom the demand is made, of all discretion in the premises. He is not to be considered a mere subordinate to execute the mandate of the Executive making the demand ; but is to exercise his own judgment in determining whether the demand should be complied with. And especially, before the surrendry is made, he is to be furnished with satisfactory proof, not merely that a crime has been *charged*, but that the person so charged is also a *fugitive* ; having in some way endeavored to evade the justice of the State from which the requisition is issued. On the contrary, the Governor of Georgia maintains that the Executive, upon whom the demand is made, has no such discretionary power, but is bound, when the proper evidence has been furnished that a crime has been *charged*, to deliver up the alleged fugitive, without further investigation or inquiry.

In addition to ascertaining the fact, whether the person demanded, is a fugitive, it would seem to be equally the duty of the Executive to determine whether the offence, upon which the demand is made is, in reality, a *crime*. In settling this point, the question arises, whether reference shall be had to the municipal regulations of individual states, or to eternal principles of right, the law of nations, and the common consent of mankind. The latter, we believe is the proper course. In this case, admitting the individuals demanded by Georgia had, as alleged, aided the slave in making his escape, the Executive of the State would not be authorized to deliver them up. For the affording such aid, is not in itself a crime, nor would it be regarded as a crime, in the enlightened judgment of the civilized world.

The limits of this Report will not permit as to go into a discussion of this subject. The importance of the ground, assumed by Governor Kent, will however be readily perceived. Its correctness follows as matter of necessity. For otherwise, the State would be divested of all power to protect its citizens from the most vexatious processes instituted against them in other States, upon the testimony of perjured witnesses, or upon the most false and frivolous pretexts.

According to the Georgia interpretation of the Constitution, no individual in the free states, who should become obnoxious to slaveholders, would be safe for a moment. Of this we are forcibly reminded by a recent occurrence. The Rev. Mr. Mahan of Ohio has within the year been delivered up, on the requisition of the Governor of Kentucky, upon an indictment found against him in Kentucky, for the alleged crime of aiding certain slaves to escape from that State. The least investigation would have shown the falseness of

the charge and the impropriety of complying with the requisition. But, acting in accordance with the slaveholding interpretation of the constitution, Gov. Vance considered his duty limited to the immediate issuing of the order for the arrest of the alleged fugitive, without any inquiry into the propriety of the demand. Accordingly Mr. Mahan was arrested, hurried away from family and home, put in irons, and confined as a common felon, for nearly two months in a Kentucky jail, before his trial could take place. He was finally acquitted,—not a particle of evidence having been found that he was guilty as charged in the indictment; and it having also been satisfactorily shown, that he had not been in Kentucky, where the alleged crime was affirmed to have been committed, for more than nineteen years. The whole procedure, it was evident, was a malicious prosecution, got up in consequence of the well known character of Mr. Mahan as an abolitionist, and from hatred to him, in consequence of his supposed philanthropy, in giving occasionally a cup of cold water to some thirsty fugitive from republican Kentucky, in quest of freedom in the monarchical wilds of Canada.

Though acquitted, the cost of this malicious prosecution to Mr. Mahan, in addition to all the pain and anxiety endured, was \$1200. And here let it be remarked, as an indication of the encroachments which the slaveholding power is striving to make upon the liberties of the free States, that a distinct point made by the prosecuting officer in this case and argued with great pertinacity is, that an individual in the free States, who may harbor or in any way aid a fugitive slave, is a violator of the laws of the State from which the fugitive escapes; and may in consequence be demanded, and brought within the jurisdiction of that State to be punished for his crime.

The cautious regard for the rights of the citizens of the State, evinced by Governors Dunlap and Kent, stands in striking contrast with the precipitation, not to say the servility, of Governor Vance. We are happy also to state, that a law was passed by the last Legislature, probably in view of the case of Philbrook and Kelleran, making it the duty of the Governor to deliver up persons claimed as fugitives from justice, only after an investigation of the grounds of the demand, and upon satisfactory evidence that it ought to be complied with.

This act of the last Legislature has well nigh destroyed all hopes on the part of Georgia, that the appeal now made by her to our present Legislature for redress will be of any avail. The spirit of liberty in Maine is evidently much in the way of the pretensions of that blustering, belligerent State. As appears from the Report of a Committee of her Legislature, to whom the subject was referred, the

question what can Georgia do in the case, is one of no little difficulty even in her own estimation. To send her chivalry into Maine, and carry off the men by force, would be a rather delicate affair. To "close her ports" and declare a "non-intercourse" with us, would be plainly unconstitutional. "To seize upon the persons of our citizens as hostages, or to levy upon their property found in the State," would be both unconstitutional and unjust. What then can she do? Though strongly inclined to impose "a quarantine" upon our vessels, regarding the free spirit that navigates them as a "moral and political pestilence," more to be feared than plague or cholera, she has concluded, on the whole, if our present Legislature refuses the redress sought, to call a *Convention* of her citizens, for the adoption of such further measures, as the dignity and interests of the State may demand.

But the question returns what can Georgia do, her whole dignity and might assembled in convention? She may settle the whole difficulty at once by passing an act, converting her slave population into freemen. In default of this, we see naught that she can do, but to hoist the safety valve and let off her accumulated wrath in some hissing resolutions; or what perhaps would better comport with her dignity, in company with her fair sister South Carolina, who seems quite inclined to come to her aid in this extremity, set down upon her reserved rights, and scowl upon us in dignified silence for our contumacy.*

*The following is the Resolution of the Legislature of Georgia providing for calling the proposed Convention, in case that her appeal to the Legislature of this State, should be unavailing.

"Be it further resolved, That should the executive of the State of Maine refuse to comply with such second demand, the executive of Georgia be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the Executive of each State of the Union, to be presented to their several Legislatures, and also a copy to the President of the United States, and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to be laid before that body. And should the Legislature of Maine, at its session next after the said resolutions shall have been forwarded to the executive of that State, neglect to redress the grievances herein before set forth, it shall be the duty of the executive of Georgia to announce the same by proclamation, and call upon the people of the several counties, on a day to be named in said proclamation, to elect, under like restrictions and regulations as in the election of members of the legislatures, a number of delegates equal to the number of Senators and Representatives to which they are entitled in the General Assembly, to meet in Convention, on a day to be fixed in said proclamation, at the seat of Government, take into consideration the state of the Commonwealth of Georgia, and to devise the course of her future policy, and provide

Shortly after the arrival of the vessel commanded by Philbrook, at Thomaston, Mr. Sagurs arrived there also in a Pilot boat in quest of his lost property. With some difficulty a warrant was obtained and search made. A colored man, affirmed to be the slave sought, was seized by the constable aided by Sagurs and others as posse, and hurried on board the boat, which, wind and tide favoring, immediately made off. No legal proceedings were had to ascertain the identity of the alleged slave, and the warrant itself was not duly returned.

For this trespass upon our territory, this violation of the sovereignty of Maine, in the forcible abduction of a man from the State, the Georgia kidnappers have not yet been called to account. And such is the feeble degree of sensibility in regard to human rights at Thomaston, or the disastrous influence of the spirit of trade over the most common sentiments of justice and humanity, that the individuals there, by whom the Georgia party were aided and abetted, have not been made to suffer the penalty of the law, for the part taken by them, in this nefarious and piratical transaction.

And your Committee would suggest, whether our character as abolitionists, and the importance of the subject, as well as the honor of the State do not demand, that measures should forthwith be taken for the full investigation of this whole transaction, in order that the parties concerned may be brought to justice. And especially that Sagurs and the other individuals of his party from Georgia, may be demanded of the Governor of that State and forthwith brought into Maine, to answer for their perpetration upon our soil of a felony, justly regarded by our laws as of the highest grade.

all necessary safeguards for the protection of the rights of her people."

Since presenting this Report, the following decision we learn, has been made in our House of Representatives, in reference to the Georgia appeal.

MONDAY, Jan. 28.

"The Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the papers communicated by Gov. Kent, relative to the demand of the Governor of Georgia for Philbrook and Kelloran, reported their unanimous opinion, that the whole subject is exclusively within the province of the Executive; and the Committee therefore ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject, and recommend that the papers be placed on file—which report was accepted in concurrence."

This action of the House was in concurrence with the Senate. The Legislature therefore, in full view of the perilous consequences, has declined compliance with the demands of Georgia. Nothing remains then for this decided and powerful State, but to call her CONVENTION. We wait, with all the composure in our power to assume, the result of this TERRIBLE MEASURE.

Had this course been taken, at the proper time, much of the menace and bluster, with which Georgia has pursued her demand, would, doubtless, have been spared.

We remark in passing, that the pertinacity with which the demand of Georgia, for the bodies of Philbrook and Kellaran, has been prosecuted, would not have been evinced, in reference to any other supposed infraction of her laws. Indeed, the reason assigned for the course pursued, is its importance to the security of her "peculiar property." The same point is distinctly made by South Carolina, who, as we have intimated, appears disposed to make common cause with Georgia in this matter. Among the resolutions recently passed by the Legislature of that State, in reference to the Maine and Georgia controversy, is the following,

Resolved, That a failure, on the part of the State of Maine, to fulfil her constitutional obligations, in this particular, will be a fatal blow to the security of our institutions and property, and if persisted in, will create great and well founded alarm in the slave-holding states.

The refusal then, of the Governor of Maine, to deliver up the persons of Philbrook and Kellaran, would be a FATAL BLOW to the domestic institution, and, as such, would be felt by the slave-holding states,—or, in other words, without the prompt and active interference and co-operation of the North, slavery cannot be maintained at the South. We earnestly recommend this important testimony, together with the whole transaction by which it has been elicited, to the serious attention of such of our fellow-citizens, as are still disposed to press the inquiry—What has the North to do with Slavery?

CONGRESS.—THE ATHERTON RESOLUTIONS.

The evident failure of the, justly so called, infamous resolution of Mr. Patton, to effect the objects proposed in its adoption, had led to the hope, that a similar outrage upon the humanity of the country and the sacred right of petition, would not again be repeated in Congress. This hope however, has failed. On the 12th of December last, a series of resolutions were presented in the House of Representatives by Mr. Atherton, a northern man with southern principles from New Hampshire, embodying some of the most objectionable principles of the pro-slavery resolutions adopted by the Senate at its session the preceding year, and terminating with a repetition of the gag resolution of Mr. Patton. After presenting his resolutions, and occupying some half hour or more, in a speech in favor of their adoption, Mr. Atherton, with a meanness hitherto unparalleled in the history of Northern servility, moved the PREVIOUS QUESTION;

by which all amendments to his resolutions, and all reply to his remarks, were cut off.

Up to this period, the South had been content herself to furnish the leaders, in the infamous war upon the Constitution and the rights of the citizens of the free States, in support of her peculiar institution. At the present session of Congress however, her tactics were changed. Instead of her own Pinkneys, and Hawses and Pattons, she pushed forward, as the ostensible leader in her nefarious enterprise, one of her white servants of the North, the dough-faced representative from New Hampshire.

If the member from the Granite State is ambitious of renown, his desire is accomplished. His name will go down to posterity, upon the same black page with that of Benedict Arnold, and other traitors to the cause of liberty and their country.

Considered merely with reference to the party movements of the day, the design of the Atherton resolutions doubtless is, to secure to Mr. Van Buren the vote of the South. They were concocted in a strictly party caucus, and were carried mainly by Administration votes. Of the sixty three democratic members from the North, *twelve* only voted against the gag. Whether the pure democracy of the North, the true hearted friends of equal rights in the party, will sanction this base attempt to stifle the voice of the people, in order to secure an alliance with the slaveholding despots of the South, remains to be seen.*

* The effort of Mr. Van Buren to conciliate, by bowing down to the spirit of slavery, the vote of the South, has been met by the speech of Mr. Clay delivered in the U. S. Senate, since the presentation of this report. In this speech, Mr. Clay denounces the abolitionists in severe terms, brings forward, in his peculiar and forcible language, the stereotyped objections against the Anti-slavery movement, lays down the monstrous principle that "that is property which the law makes property," and upon the ground of necessity, the tyrant's plea, defends the eternal enslavement of the colored race in our land. On sitting down, after this effort for the perpetuation of a system of outrage and wrong, the most inexcusable, as well as the most detestable that the sun has yet shone upon, Mr. Clay received the congratulations of the arch nullifier and defender of "the most glorious institution", J. C. Calhoun, for having given the death blow to abolition. If judgment is not turned backward, the blow will be death to his own prospects of winning the splendid prize, at which he is aiming; and to secure which he has, in this pro-slavery effort, fixed an indelible stigma upon his own reputation. One thing is now certain, if there could have been a doubt before—the sacred cause of impartial liberty, the cause of three millions of the enslaved in our country, has nothing to hope from Henry Clay. He stands before the world, its unblushing, uncompromising opponent.

The Resolutions are as follows.

Resolved, 1. That this Government is of limited powers, and that by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institution of Slavery in the several States of the Confederacy.

Resolved, 2. That petitions for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States, and against the removal of slaves from one State to another, are a part of a plan of operations set on foot to affect the institution of Slavery in the several States, and thus indirectly to destroy that institution within their several limits.

Resolved, 3. That Congress has no right to do that indirectly which it cannot do directly, and that the agitation of the subject of Slavery in the District of Columbia, or in Territories, as a means or with a view of disturbing or overthrowing that institution in the several States, is against the true spirit and meaning of the Constitution an infringement of the rights of the States affected, and a breach of the public faith on which they entered into this Confederacy.

Resolved, 4. That the Constitution rests on the broad principles of equality among the members of this Confederacy, and that Congress, in the exercise of its acknowledged powers, has no right to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the States and another, with a view of abolishing the one or promoting the other.

Resolved, 5. Therefore, that all attempts on the part of Congress to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, or the Territories, or to prohibit the removal of slaves from State to State, or to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the Confederacy and another, with the views aforesaid, are in violation of the Constitutional principles on which the Union of these States rests, and beyond the jurisdiction of Congress; and that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper, touching or relating, in any way or to any extent whatever, to Slavery as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall on presentation thereof, WITHOUT ANY FURTHER ACTION THEREON, BE LAID ON THE TABLE WITHOUT BEING PRINTED, DEBATED OR REFERRED.

The limits of this report, will permit but a hasty glance at some of the positions, contained in these resolutions. The first affirms that Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over slavery in the States. This proposition is generally conceded by abolitionists; though at the expense of divesting Congress of the power of accomplishing the objects, for which, as appears from the preamble to the constitution, the union of the States was formed, and the Constitution itself adopted. Slavery, it is evident, is at utter variance with the establishment of justice, the promotion of domestic tranquility, the suitable provision for the common defence, and the securing the blessings of liberty,—objects, which it is the fundamental design of the Constitution to effect. The second resolution affirms, that it is the design of the petitioners for the abolition of slavery in the District, and the suppress-

ion of the traffic in slaves between the States, to affect the institution of slavery in the States, and thus indirectly to destroy it.

From what part of the Constitution, Congress derives its inquisitorial power into the objects aimed at in a petition, beyond those upon the face of it, the mover of the resolution did not see fit to show. By the adoption of the resolution however, the House of Representatives has ventured upon the bold assumption, that it is within the constitutional powers, of Congress, to sit in judgment upon the motives of petitioners. And to receive or reject their petitions, according to its own view of the propriety or impropriety of the motives, under which, it is presumed they are presented.

The objects prayed for in the abolition memorials, are manifestly within the power of Congress. They are in themselves, irrespective of all collateral consequences, worthy a nation's philanthropy. And it is a sheer usurpation, which ought not for a moment to be submitted to by freemen, for our servants in Congress to seek, in the ulterior hopes and expectations of the petitioners, an occasion for the scornful rejection of their prayers.

The third resolution affirms, that Congress has no right to do that indirectly, which it cannot do directly. The argument is, that as Congress has no right, by direct legislation, to abolish slavery in the States, it has, therefore, no right to do any thing, that will indirectly tend to the same result.

The position is almost too absurd to be met with argument. As individuals, we are daily, by the force of our example, by our powers of reason and argument, indirectly bringing about results, that we have no power or right to effect by direct action. We may not enter the dram shop of a neighbor, who is dealing out death to the community about us, and cast its contents into the streets. Have we no right, therefore, by our powers of persuasion, to convince him of the sinfulness of his business, and thus induce him to perform this act himself? Carry out the principle to its legitimate consequences, and it would arrest all those influences which individuals and associate bodies are, in the ordinary transactions of life, necessarily exerting upon each other,—stay all social progress, and reduce the whole mass of society to a state of perfect stagnation.

So far as the powers of Congress are concerned, it would go well nigh to their annihilation. Congress has undoubted power to establish commercial relations with foreign States. Yet if the exercise of this power would produce effects in any State of the Union, which Congress could not accomplish by direct action, the power ceases; and we are shut up to an eternal non-intercourse with the rest of mankind, or, our commerce unprotected, would be left a prey to all

nations. If the establishment of commercial relations with Hayti, for example, would tend, as is affirmed, to weaken the joints of slavery in the States, Congress has no power to acknowledge her independence. And thus the disgraceful policy hitherto pursued in relation to that republic, stands justified. There is no end to the illustrations which may be adduced, to show the falsehood and folly of this principle, which received the sanction of 127 intelligent representatives of the American people.

The principle is equally applicable to the States, and goes as effectually to nullify their powers, as it does those of Congress. It has never been disputed that Virginia, for example, has the power to abolish slavery within her limits. Suppose the chivalrous citizens of the Old Dominion, to have traced up her worn out soil, her dilapidated plantations, her downward progress in the scale of States, to the true cause,—the unpaid and unblessed labor of her slaves,—and, to have come to the full conviction that duty and interest require their emancipation. Yet, if the abolition of slavery in Virginia would tend to its overthrow in Kentucky, then would Virginia have no right to emancipate; but must hold on to her disgraceful business of slave-breeding and slave-trading, and remain still, as for a long time past she has been, the Guinea of America.

Congress has no right to do that indirectly which it cannot do directly. As the abolition of slavery in the District would, by its legitimate moral influence, tend to the abolition of slavery in the States, therefore, Congress has no right to abolish it in the District. Such is the precious logic, by which the reason and conscience of the nation are to be set at rest, upon the question of slavery in the District. No matter how indubitable soever the power of Congress to abolish the system;—no matter how much soever the interests and honor of the country demand its abolition; no matter if every individual in the District should petition for the measure;—yet, if the removal of the accursed thing from the District, would tend to its removal from the States—it must not be touched. The very spot in our land, set apart from the rest and consecrated to liberty, must still groan under the tramp of the slave.—At the very door of the Capitol, over which our country's banner is proudly waving, the auctioneer must still strike off to the highest bidder, his human merchandise. By that very door, while the representatives of the nation are prating within about liberty and equal rights, the manacled slave coffle must still pass, bound to the southern market, while in bitter irony they sing "Hail Columbia happy land."

Lest, forsooth, slavery in the States should be affected by the measure, we must still as a nation, maintain our District plantation;

hold our National Council in a den of robbers; sanction by laws of our own enactment, the infamous traffic in the bodies and souls of men; clear out from the ports of Georgetown and Alexandria, under the sign manual of the nation, the piratical slave ship with her accursed freight for the South; trample upon the principles of our declaration of independence; stand before the civilized world, convicted of downright hypocrisy in our professions of attachment to the cause of freedom,—and merit, as well as receive, the deep-toned execrations of the oppressed in all lands.

The fourth resolution affirms, that the constitution rests upon the broad principle of equality between the States. To this proposition, rightly interpreted, we do not object; though as matter of fact it is not strictly true. As proof however, of the determination of the slaveholding power, to push its encroachments to the utmost limits, the doctrine, it should be remarked, is now boldly maintained at the South, that the principle of equality between the States demands, that what, by the laws, is regarded as property in one State, shall, so far at least as the citizens of that State are concerned, be also regarded as property in all the others. And that by consequence, in despite of the Anti-slavery constitutions of the free States, and the solemn decisions of our highest judicial tribunals, the Slaveholder has, by the Constitution of the United States, the undoubted right, to bring his human chattels into the free States, and there hold and use them at pleasure.

So far as the latter clause of this resolution is concerned, the passage of the resolutions themselves is in direct contravention of the principle affirmed. For the effect of the resolutions is, to destroy the right of petition at the North, in order to sustain slavery at the South.

The fifth resolution, to which the others are merely preliminary, is the gag; and is substantially the same with the corresponding one of Mr. Patton. It declares that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition or paper, touching or relating, in any way or to any extent whatever, to slavery or the abolition thereof, shall on presentation thereof, **WITHOUT ANY FURTHER ACTION THEREON, BE LAID ON THE TABLE, WITHOUT BEING PRINTED, DEBATED OR REFERRED.**

Thus has the House of Representatives, a second time, trampled upon the sacred right of petition. By this act has it, a second time, declared that it will not listen to the prayers of the people. To say the petitions, thus laid upon the table, are received, is technically true, but practically false. As well, for all practical purposes, might Congress resolve that no petition, on the subject of slavery, should

ever be presented, as to resolve that immediately on its presentation, it shall be laid on the table, without any further action thereon. The object of the petitioners is that their prayer may be duly considered, and granted if reasonable; or if it be rejected, that it may be for good and sufficient reasons assigned. Thus to lay their petitions upon the table, without reference, or debate, or any further action upon them, is not merely to reject them in a manner most insulting to the petitioners, but is a virtual abrogation of the right of petition itself.

As a precedent, the measure is one of most dangerous tendency. If Congress may refuse to consider any one class of petitions, it may, on the same principle, refuse to consider any other. And thus the right of the people to lay their grievances before Congress and pray for redress, may come to be entirely disregarded; and under the name of republican liberty, a despotism be established, more intolerable than Russian or Turk has yet known.

As a violation of the great fundamental principles of democracy, upon which our government is founded, it is most flagrant. For what purpose are our National and State Legislatures established, but to consult for the public welfare, in accordance with the wishes of the people? A large part of the business usually coming before these bodies, is introduced by means of petitions. Individuals are suffering under some grievance, or are desirous of embarking in some project, requiring Legislative interference; and they pray for redress in the one case, or for the requisite aid in the other. Let it once be established that the petitions of the people will not receive a respectful consideration on the part of their Representatives, and a death-blow is struck at the very heart of republican liberty. The people pass at once, from the high position genuine republicanism assigns them,—that of intelligent freemen whose wishes and opinions are to be respectfully regarded,—to that of mere ignorant serfs, incapable of understanding their true interests and born only to be governed.

The passage of these resolutions is a direct violation of the Constitution itself, which declares that the right of petition shall not be abridged; and every member of Congress who voted for them, must have done so in contravention of his oath to maintain that instrument unimpaired. As an act of inhumanity, it is without a parallel in the history of modern legislation, except it be some of our own in relation to the Indian tribes. The slaves, it has been decided, have no constitutional right to be heard within the halls of Congress. And when hundreds of thousands of those who have the undisputed right to be heard, are moved to petition in their behalf,—the only

door through which the groanings of the captives can reach the ears of our National Representatives is closed, and it is virtually declared that wrongs which earth cannot much longer endure or Heaven permit, shall not be redressed. The resolutions in their legitimate effects, cut off the last hope of the slave; and he is left to such deeds for the assertion of his rights, as desperation alone may suggest.

The names of the recreant sons of New England, who responded "aye" to this infamous resolution, will be had in lasting remembrance—they will be remembered with the contempt due to their base servility, and violation of republican principles, in the insane and wicked effort to prop up, for a little longer, the falling fabric of southern despotism. Verily, they shall have their reward.

So far as the delegation from Maine is concerned, the vote is as follows:

Against the gag, Davce, Evans, Noyes, Robinson.

For the gag, Anderson, Parris, Fairfield.

Dark as the resolution, in some of its aspects, is, yet it is a source of encouragement and hope. It is a clear admission, on the part of the slaveholding members of Congress, that slavery cannot bear the light. It is a plea of guilty to all that abolitionists have urged against the abominations of the system. It is a clear acknowledgment that should the grand inquest of the nation pronounce its condemnation in the District, it could not long be maintained in the States. The repeated adoption of the resolution has placed the fact beyond doubt, that slavery can be sustained in the District, in no other way, than by striking down the sacred right of petition, and shutting out all discussion of the subject in the halls of Congress.

Though they meant not so, the slave has occasion to leap for joy, at the adoption of a measure so desperate. It is the sure sign, that the day of his redemption draweth nigh.

ELMORE CORRESPONDENCE.

Notwithstanding the effort to arrest discussion in Congress, the sentiment is manifestly beginning to prevail at the South, that slavery must, before long, be discussed upon its merits. This is particularly the case in South Carolina. Her leading politicians are beginning to feel, to use the language of one of her own representatives in Congress, that the moral power of the world is against them, and that, sooner or later, they must meet the great issue about to be made up on this subject. The time, it is felt, is even now at hand, when the abolitionists must be met, not by brick bats, or the terrors of Lynch law, or mere threats to dissolve the union; but in the field of fair and manly controversy.

In relation to the gag resolutions of Pinckney, Hawes and Patton, Mr. Pickens of South Carolina says, in a letter, addressed to the citizens of Beaufort,

"I have always been opposed to these temporizing resolutions, which have heretofore been adopted, and by which some have supposed that they have gained a point by *staving off the issue* for a few months longer. This is a miserable and contemptible policy. Better for us to meet it boldly and at once in all its aspects. Let those who assail us, make their definite propositions; and let those from the non-slaveholding States who have heretofore sustained us, have an opportunity to defend themselves, and save the Union, if they can."

It was in accordance with, while it doubtless has had no small influence in quickening this growing sentiment in many southern minds, that the South Carolina delegation in Congress, through their Committee, the Hon. F. H. Elmore, addressed, the last winter, a courteous letter to Mr. Birney, one of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Parent Society, requesting information in regard to the numbers, resources, objects, measures and hopes of the abolitionists. A full and explicit answer has been given to these inquiries. The correspondence has been published in a pamphlet form, and is now extensively circulated at the South.

The importance of this pamphlet will be more fully appreciated, when it is recollected, that, in replying to the inquiries proposed, Mr. Birney goes somewhat at length into the Anti Slavery discussion, and has thrown out much important matter to start inquiry, and to tell upon southern conscience.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Mr. Calhoun to prohibit the circulation of A. S. documents through the mail, it is freely admitted by Mr. Elmore, in this correspondence, that the South ought to be informed "of the full length and breadth and depth of the storm gathering over their heads, before it breaks in its desolating fury." In South Carolina, a periodical has been established within the year, one of the professed objects of which is, to defend the institution of Slavery; and the pages of which have already been extensively and earnestly occupied with the subject. Thus the enemy is driven from his covert into the open field. He has already opened his defences, and shown distinctly the ground he intends to occupy in the coming conflict.

In an elaborate defence of slavery, recently published by Chancellor Harper of Charleston, S. C., the following positions are laid down.

(1.) That it is in the order of nature and of God, that the being of superior faculties and knowledge and therefore of superior power, should control and dispose of those who are inferior;—that it is as

much in the order of nature, that men should enslave each other, as that other animals should prey upon each other.

(2.) That the Creator did not intend that every individual should be highly cultivated morally and intellectually; but as there can be but a given amount of knowledge in a community, it is best that a part should be *highly* cultivated, and the rest remain utterly *ignorant*.

(3.) That the laborer from his situation, can have neither the inclination, or the leisure to acquire useful knowledge.

(4.) That as there are sordid, servile, and laborious offices to be performed, it is best there should be sordid, servile and laborious beings to perform them. That as it would be no real favor to the horse or ox, to give him knowledge, and refinement, so likewise, so far as the laborer has the knowledge, the aspirations of a freeman, he is unfitted for his situation, and must doubly feel its infelicity.

(5.) In accordance with these diabolical sentiments, the position has also been laid down by the politicians of South Carolina, that it is a dangerous element in a government to allow the laboring classes the elective franchise.

Such are the principles, upon which the defence of slavery is to rest. There is no plea of necessity here,—no begging for a little delay, until the slaves can be prepared for freedom. The position is boldly taken, that to the favored few belongs of right a monopoly of wealth, intelligence, and political power, while the many are, and of right ought to be, the servants of their lords. The question who shall be the slaves, is not made to depend upon the color of the skin. It is just as lawful, just as much in the order of nature and of God, to enslave the white as the colored man. If the principles assumed are correct, slavery should be universal. It should be introduced forthwith at the North, or, at least, as soon as there can be found a sufficient number of the favored few, having the requisite intelligence and power to do the work.

The great issue spoken of by Mr. Pickens, is here in fact distinctly made—the complete emancipation of the enslaved laborers of the South, or the enslavement of the free laborers of the North. Disguise it as we may, the simple question before the great mass of the people is, whether they will put their shoulders to the wheel and destroy slavery, or tamely lay down before the bloody car of the American Juggernaut, and be destroyed themselves.

And when this issue is clearly understood, can it be doubtful, where the hardy yeomanry, the free laborers of the North, will stand?—They will dash to the ground the fetters forging for their own free limbs—put up in its place the right of petition basely trampled under foot, and, through the law making power of Congress, proclaim to the

unpaid, enslaved laborers of the District—ye are free. 'They will be foremost in the great conflict for equal rights and universal liberty—a conflict which no power on earth can arrest, until from every hill and valley in the land, shall be heard the triumphant shout of enfranchised millions.

Driven in support of her domestic institution, to positions so palpably untenable; compelled to take her final stand upon principles so abhorrent to all our ideas of natural justice, so utterly subversive of all rights but the right of the stronger, so repugnant to every principle of republican liberty, so utterly at variance with the dictates of enlightened reason and the precepts of the Divine word—nothing, it would seem, remains for the South, but to abandon the system, and give up the contest in despair.

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

Among the occurrences of the year, having an important bearing upon our cause, we must not omit to mention the abandonment of the apprenticeship system, in the British West Indies, by the act of the masters themselves.

It has been contended by those, who are slow to perceive, or who are unwilling to admit, the entire safety of immediate emancipation, that the slaves of Antigua who were set unconditionally free, on the 1st of August 1834, had been prepared for this important event, by a long course of previous religious instruction, and a gradual relaxing of the system of slavery.

Whatever may have been the fact in regard to the slaves of Antigua, it will not be contended that those of Jamaica were prepared for freedom, by any general system of religious culture, or by any other means whatever. Jamaica, the queen of the West Indies, had always been the strong hold of slavery. There the system had existed in its most odious form. All attempts at the religious instruction of the slaves, had there been systematically opposed. The chapels, erected for their benefit, had been burnt to the ground, and their religious teachers persecuted even unto death. The planters of Jamaica resisted the proposition for emancipation, with the utmost pertinacity. They fought every inch of ground. They left no stone unturned to defeat the measure. And they assented at last to the emancipation act of 1834, only by the pressure of a power they could no longer resist. And after the act passed, they still maintained toward their apprentices the same haughty and imperious air, as when they were slaves. So far from endeavoring to conciliate the good will of the apprentices, in order through their affections to retain a moral power over them, when their legal power should

cease, their whole deportment toward them was of the most vexatious character, as though bent upon driving them to open rebellion. Convinced at length, that in contending against the entire emancipation of their former slaves, they had been contending against their own interests—on the 1st of August last, by their own act, they cut off the remaining four years of apprenticeship, and set the apprentices unconditionally free.

And was it the first impulse of these emancipated slaves, to burn their master's dwellings, and deluge the land of their long protracted and cruel bondage with blood?—On the glorious first of August, the last link in the chain that had bound them for ages was broken. On the morn of that day, they came out from their lowly dwellings, and breathed, for the first time, the sweet air of freedom, and in their inmost souls felt the life of liberty. And was that a day of wrath, of tumult, of licentious revellings?—On the first of August, the day of emancipation, peace and quiet reigned in Jamaica. There were no tumultuous meetings on the part of the emancipated laborers—no revengeful fires glowing in their bosoms—no scenes of riot and of blood. They met indeed,—but for mutual gratulation. They sang their first hymn to liberty in the House of God,—assembled there to pay their grateful tribute to the Great Deliverer, who had heard their wailings, who had seen their tears, and had come down for their relief.

It was not to be expected that a change so great, should be altogether unattended with difficulties. On many of the estates the laborers have held out for higher wages, than the inadequate remuneration for labor, that their former masters, still bent upon oppressing them to the extent of their power, have endeavored to force upon them—a proof not of their unwillingness to labor, but that they have a proper degree of self-respect, and are capable of taking care of their own interests. Wherever masters have been disposed to meet the emancipated slaves in a spirit of kindness, and to pay them a suitable compensation for their labor, every thing has gone well. In a speech to the House of Assembly on the 30th of October last, we are assured by the Governor of Jamaica,—a testimony to the correctness of which the Assembly assent,—that the conduct of the emancipated laborers “*entitles them to the highest praise, and amply proves HOW WELL THEY DESERVE the boon of freedom.*”

On the whole, the experiment in the West Indies has met our highest expectations. It is now shown beyond dispute that immediate emancipation, the doctrine for the inculcation of which, we have so long been stigmatized as fanatics and incendiaries, is not only safe, but for the mutual interest of all the parties concerned;—that all

Attempts to unite liberty and despotism in the same system are utterly absurd,—and that the best preparation for freedom is, to set the slave free,—to knock off his chains and take the yoke from his neck.

That emancipation in the W. Indies is destined to exert a mighty influence upon the question of slavery in this country, no man can doubt. Notwithstanding the dead silence of the commercial and political press, the knowledge of the events passing in the W. Indies is reaching the South, and beginning there to agitate the public mind. Upon the light which God is thus kindling up in the islands on our border, the slaveholder cannot, if he would, close his eyes. It is a light which will continue to glow with ever increasing intensity, and in the focal blaze of which slavery must expire.

OPPOSITION TO THE CAUSE.

While no small amount of opposition to the Anti-Slavery effort still remains to be overcome, we are happy in not being called upon to record any of those popular assaults upon the rights of abolitionists, which have occurred in other States, the present year; and which have before occurred in our own. The Committee cannot however but refer, briefly, to a few instances, in which efforts by no means creditable to those concerned in them, have been made to arrest the progress of our righteous cause.

At a Convention held, in March last, at East Machias, for the purpose of forming a County A. S. Society, an invitation was extended to opponents to take part in the discussions. The Court being then in session at that place, several gentlemen of the bar availed themselves of the opportunity to speak, not in opposition to the resolutions proposed, and which were the proper subjects of discussion, but in a strain of violent invective against abolitionists themselves and their measures. An adjournment of the meeting was granted, when, the opposition having obtained leave to vote as well as to speak, and having been strongly reinforced by a portion of the community, who rendered them no small aid in hissing and stamping down the arguments of the friends of the slave, finally succeeded in passing a resolution condemnatory of the agitation of the abolition question, and then, in a disorderly manner, dissolved the meeting.

On the following day, to which the meeting had in fact been regularly adjourned, the friends of the cause completed the appropriate business of the Convention and retired—satisfied, that though their proceedings had thus been rudely disturbed, the cause of truth and humanity had nevertheless been materially advanced.

A few months after, our State agent, Mr. Codding, commenced a course of lectures in Calais, the residence of several of the legal

gentlemen, who had distinguished themselves in the proceedings above referred to. Mr. Codding spake for two or three evenings to small but constantly increasing audiences, upon whom the impression was fast gaining ground, that abolitionism was something more than the sheer fanaticism, which they had hitherto supposed it to be.

At this juncture, no small fear seems to have fallen upon the minds of many individuals of respectability and standing in the place, lest the peace and quiet of their "peaceable village" should be disturbed by this discussion of the fundamental doctrines of our free government. And in consequence, with no small pains, a large meeting of the citizens was convened to consider the expediency of allowing Mr. Codding to proceed with his lectures. In order that the whole question of abolition, might be "sifted to the bottom" and settled beyond the possibility of further debate, the leaders of this praiseworthy enterprise for the preservation of peace and harmony, invited Mr. Codding himself to be present and join in the discussion.

As the basis of the discussion, a series of resolutions were introduced, the first of which admitted slavery to be wrong in the abstract, while others denounced, in severe terms, the measures of abolitionists, as tending to disturb the peace of society, jeopardize the citizens of the South, put one part of the country at war with the other, and dissolve the Union. The resolutions also called upon the citizens, under a solemn sense of duty to their country, to use all peaceful and honorable means to prevent the abolitionists from agitating their community, by public lectures, or by forming societies. And as one suitable method for the attainment of this worthy end, it was recommended that no house of worship, or public house in the village should, with the consent of the citizens, be used for such purposes.

The advocacy of these resolutions, and indeed the whole discussion, on the side of peace and quiet, was conducted with a zeal befitting the occasion, chiefly by several distinguished legal gentlemen of the place. On the second evening of the discussion, a gentleman of the pacific party, finding the battle already going hard against them, moved an adjournment *without day*, and that before a single resolution proposed by themselves had been acted upon by the meeting. The people however, notwithstanding the hazard to the peace and quiet of the village, voted down the proposition, and decided that the discussion should proceed.

On the third evening, the resolution admitting slavery to be an evil in the abstract was rejected, and another; affirming the fundamental principle of abolitionism, viz. that American slavery is a sin, and, like all other sins, should be immediately repented of and abandoned, was carried in its stead, without a show of opposition.

On the fourth evening, the discussion proceeded upon a resolution, offered by the pacific party, affirming it to be morally and religiously wrong, to agitate or discuss the question of slavery in the non-slaveholding States. After discussion the resolution was rejected by almost the entire mass of the meeting.

Sick of pacification, the movers of the meeting again made an effort to adjourn without day. But the people, now deeply interested to see the question "sifted to the bottom," refused the proposition, and again adjourned the meeting to the next evening.

On the fifth evening, the opposers of agitation came prepared to maintain the quiet of the village at every hazard. And accordingly mustered all their forces, not excepting certain "lewd fellows of the baser sort" drummed out for the occasion.

A resolution conceding much of the ground already attempted to be maintained, but still deprecating in strong terms all agitation of the subject of slavery in the free States, was now presented by a member of the pacific party as a *peace offering*. After some debate, during which no small excitement was apparent, the question was demanded. All attempts on the part of Mr. Codding to speak, were howled down; and the question being now taken, the resolution was, on count, found to be rejected by a large majority. A motion was then made to adjourn, but before it could be put, the pacific, anti-agitation party rushed out of the house in the greatest disorder.

Mr. Codding being thus left in undisputed and quiet possession of the field, concluded his lectures on the two following evenings.

We have entered somewhat into detail here, as the case furnishes one of the most remarkable instances of an entire revolution, wrought in the public sentiment of a community, by a thorough discussion of our principles, that the history of the A. S. enterprise has yet furnished. The enemies of the cause entered the conflict, with every advantage. Strong in talent, in numbers, in influence—the great mass of the people already prejudiced in their favor,—they naturally expected a cheap and easy victory. But they fought against the truth, and therefore failed. Defeated at every point in the argument, foiled in their attempts to cover their retreat, by an adjournment of the meeting without any action upon the topics, for which it had been convened, they retired in total discomfiture from a contest, in which victory itself would have been to them a more burning, lasting disgrace, than the signal defeat they experienced. We need not add that this decisive victory for the cause of the slave, at the very head and focus of opposition to it, has exerted a most salutary influence throughout the county.

We can barely allude to another attempt to arrest the progress of

free inquiry on the subject of slavery. Having given a successful course of lectures in Topsham, Mr. Coddington had nearly completed a similar course in Brunswick, when a hand-bill appeared at the corners of the streets, inviting the citizens of both villages to assemble in the evening, for the purpose of taking into *consideration* the measures now pursued by the abolitionists. A meeting was convened in accordance with this notice. When the circumstances not being found favorable to the consideration proposed, it was moved by a friend to the cause of the slave, and cordially seconded by the opposite party, to adjourn to another evening and to a more convenient place.

At the opening of the adjourned meeting, several resolutions were introduced by the opposers of abolition, declaring, in substance, any attempt on the part of the citizens of the North to interfere with slavery at the South, to be unjust, inexpedient, and an unwarrantable encroachment on the rights of the citizens of the South, sacredly guaranteed to them by the constitution; and deprecating all efforts to agitate the question of slavery in the town of Brunswick or vicinity. A gentleman who had commenced speaking in opposition to the resolutions, was immediately interrupted by the party, who had called the meeting to take into *consideration* the measures of the abolitionists, and the Previous Question was vociferously demanded. As great efforts had been made to assemble all that portion of the citizens, who could vote as intelligently before as after consideration, the call for the Previous Question was sustained, and the resolutions were carried.

Thus, in humble imitation of the Congressional mode of procedure, they silenced, for the moment, the voice of free investigation, by the rude and arbitrary application of the gag. A measure of which they were afterwards heartily ashamed. On a subsequent evening, a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of the two villages was assembled, by which, after an animated discussion of the proceedings of the previous meeting, strong resolutions were passed, affirming the right of the citizens peaceably to assemble and discuss all subjects, in which they feel an interest,—slavery among the rest. The influence of these proceedings, as might naturally be expected, served only to give a new impulse to the cause of the slave, and to demonstrate the utter folly of attempting to arrest its onward course, by any effort to stifle inquiry, to chain free thought.

The cause of this violent, though senseless opposition to the agitation of the question of slavery in the towns on our seaboard, is easily perceived. Something of it may be due to the spirit of political partizanship; but it is chiefly to be attributed to our extensive commercial relations with the Southern States, which naturally induces

the desire, on the part of our citizens, to be on good terms with the South. Not indeed that they love liberty less, but trade more.

In this connection, we are happy to state, that in the interior towns, where the demoralizing influence of the Southern trade is less felt, the people in general, lend a ready ear to the advocate for the enslaved; and join the cause, as soon as it is fairly laid before them.

MEASURES TO BE PURSUED.

We cannot close this report, without inviting special attention to a few of the measures, which it is vitally important should be prosecuted with new vigor.

During the year the Committee have been most seriously embarrassed, and the cause has suffered beyond measure, for the want of funds, which might with little effort have been furnished. Instances are not rare, of a very generous remembrance of the cause of the slave by way of pecuniary contributions. As a general fact, however, abolitionists have, in this particular, fallen far short of duty. There are doubtless hundreds of professed abolitionists in the State, who have not, during the year, contributed a farthing to sustain our operations. The exigencies of the cause demand that every one who takes upon him the name of abolitionism, should, as matter of conscience, contribute liberally, and at stated periods, for its promotion. The plan of Quarterly subscriptions, successfully adopted in several towns, is most earnestly urged upon all. By this means funds are collected at very little or no expense, and the Committee have certain resources, upon which they can safely rely, for the promotion of the objects committed to their care.

The general establishment of Anti-Slavery libraries, is another measure essentially connected with the successful prosecution of our great enterprise.

By means of public lectures, the attention may be effectually aroused, and multitudes, for the time, become intelligently convinced of the truth of our doctrines, and the expediency of our measures. Impressions, however, produced merely by the public lecturer, rapidly fade from the mind, and converts thus made soon relapse into their former indifference, and remain but abolitionists in name. They are ready to flee at every breath of opposition, or, in any effort to conflict with the enemy, are but soldiers in the battle without their weapons. To be well grounded in the faith, the individual must investigate and think for himself. The rich materials for these objects, are furnished in abundance by the standard publications of the parent society, to which every abolitionist should have access.

These publications are also of immense importance by way of reference, in all discussions in Lyceums, and other public debates on the subject of slavery. Their general circulation moreover, cannot fail to widen and deepen the interest felt in the Anti-Slavery cause, and raise up for it a host of thinking, intelligent friends. Indeed, let an Anti-Slavery Library be established in every village in the State, and put in active operation, and our work is more than half done. In this connection we would strongly urge upon every abolitionist, who means to keep within sight of the cause, the importance of taking and paying for an A. S. paper. There are towns in the State, in which large A. S. Societies have been formed, where an Anti-Slavery Newspaper of any description, can with difficulty be found. It is needless to remark, that such abolitionism must, of necessity, soon die of absolute starvation.

The action of Congress in reference to our petitions, has imposed upon us the most solemn obligation to prosecute the great duty of petitioning with increased vigor. To this we are now called, not merely by its relation to the cause of the slave, but also by a sacred regard to our own inalienable rights. In every point of view, the subject of petitioning is of vast importance. The effort to circulate petitions has served, in a high degree, to reveal the actual state of opinion on the subject of slavery; to show the fearful inroads it has already made upon the spirit of liberty at the North, the insensibility of the public heart and conscience to the enormous wickedness of the system, and the consequent importance of the most vigorous measures to arouse the attention of the community, to their duties and responsibilities in respect to it. Upon the petitioners themselves, the effect of petitioning is most salutary. It awakens thought, creates an interest in the cause of the slave, and, in most cases, where our doctrines have not yet been received, is the first step toward a hearty co-operation with us, in all our efforts for the emancipation of the enslaved.

Petitioning has been rightly styled the great engine of reform. The discussions in our State Legislatures, and the favorable action of several of them on the subject of slavery, have been the result of petitioning. To this instrumentality we are indebted for the noble speech of Wm. Slade, the efforts of Adams, and the heavy blows dealt at the system by Morris, in the halls of Congress. It is our petitions more than any other cause, that have electrified the country, and filled the land with the agitation of the prohibited question, from Maine to Louisiana, from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. Another Congress, it is believed, will hardly venture upon the pitiful expedient of the present, to arrest the strong current of sympathy for the enslaved, becoming more and more manifest by the increasing number of Anti-slavery

petitions. Be this as it may, whether Congress hears or rejects our prayers, every petition knocks a rivet from the chain of the slave.

The proceedings of Congress, during the present session, have served to attach new importance to petitions for the acknowledgment of Haytian independence.

The course of our Government toward this Republic, has been disgraceful in the extreme. Our hearts leaped to meet the heart of the Pole, when he struck for freedom.—We lent a helping hand to the Greek in his effort to throw off the despotism, that had crushed him for ages. We cheered on the South American Provinces, in their bloody conflict to break the yoke of their haughty oppressors. But the Haytian—Oh, he is guilty of a skin not colored like our own—our feet are upon the necks of three millions of his race; and our minds are therefore filled with horror that he should dream of liberty and independence.

With indecent haste, we gave the right hand of fellowship to the off-scouring of Creation, the scum of the earth, the refugees from our penitentiaries and gallows, the degraded mass of Anglo-saxon villains, that in the sacred name of liberty wrested Texas from Mexico, to re-establish slavery there, which Mexico had abolished. But the Haytians—Most of them were once slaves, suffering under a yoke more intolerable than Pole, or Greek, or South American ever imagined. And they have impudently taught the incendiary doctrine that slaves may become freemen,—that colored men have hearts to feel the inspirations of liberty, and hands to assert their rights,—that they can exist and prosper, under a free government established by themselves; and therefore, though the commercial interests of the North loudly demand that we should acknowledge her independence, and the uniform practice of the General Government, in all other cases, requires it, and no nation on earth has refused but ourselves,—we turn up our republican noses at Hayti, and refuse to recognise her among the nations.

We may violate our treaty stipulations with Mexico, invade her territory, permit our citizens to rob her of Texas, for the direct protection of slavery. But an act of common justice to Hayti we must not perform, lest forsooth, the additional respect which might thus be attached to the colored race, should indirectly tend to loosen the bonds of the slave—a proof which may be seen and read of all men, of the entire subjection of our Government to the slaveholding interest.

It is due to the slave, that we sever, at once, this link of his chain; that we give to his cause all the benefit which may accrue from a free, unrestricted commercial intercourse with Hayti. It is due to ourselves,

to spare no effort to prevent the powers of Congress from being longer perverted to the support of a system, which is at once our curse and our reproach.

The matchless resolution of Mr. Atherton, failed to reach the petitions for the recognition of Haytian independence. This year, they are referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, to be respectfully laid up in "monumental security." They will see the light at the next session of Congress, if abolitionists are faithful to their high trust.

As connected with this subject, we would urge the importance of an increased attention to the intellectual and moral elevation of the free people of color among us. While the condition of the colored man in the free States is, irrespective of the blessings of liberty, immeasurably above that of his enslaved brother at the South, yet, in all these states, he labors under depressing circumstances, which no pains should be spared to remove. In Ohio, while the colored man is required by law to contribute his full share to the expense of public education, his own children are excluded from the privileges of the common schools. The ignorant emigrant from the Emerald Isle, may, almost on the first day of his importation, go to the polls in New York, while the intelligent, native-born colored American, is excluded by a property qualification, required of no other class of citizens. And during the year past, the disgraceful spectacle has been witnessed of the disfranchisement of 40,000 colored citizens of the State of William Penn, by a Convention, assembled for the purpose of revising and amending its constitution.

We are happy to state, that the colored men labors under none of these disabilities in Maine. So far as our Constitution and laws are concerned, he is placed upon a perfect equality with other citizens. Would that we could also say, that he is not here subject to the withering, heart-crushing influence of the prejudice against color, so universally prevalent in the free States. The effect of this prejudice upon the character and prospects of the colored race at the North, has served more than any other cause, to quiet the conscience of the slaveholder, and stifle the promptings of humanity in his bosom, by confirming him in the wicked assumption, that the colored man was born to be a slave, and that liberty to him is not a blessing.

It is our duty as abolitionists to take this plea from the mouth of the oppressor,—to remove this flattering unction from his soul. We labor directly for the attainment of this object, by all well directed efforts to secure to the people of color the advantages of a good education—by aiding them to occupy the higher and more honorable employments; and, on all suitable occasions, by taking our place by

their side, not ashamed of the complexion that God has given them. From our own hearts, at least, the unworthy, unholy spirit of caste must be extirpated, before we can plead with the South, to take the yoke from the neck and knock the chains from the hands of our brother, with a power that shall prevail.

After the remarks already made, we need not urge the importance of the right use of the elective franchise, in promoting the cause of the slave.

No occurrence in the history of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, has produced a deeper sensation, or sent more consternation into the ranks of our enemies, than the determination recently evinced by abolitionists, to carry their principles to the polls. Our political men generally, will pay but little attention to all that we may do or say on the subject of slavery, so long as, without respect to its bearing upon the cause of the slave, we vote, on the day of election, the whole Whig or the whole Van Buren ticket. Our Representatives in Congress will respectfully present our petitions and pile them up for us, until the speaker's table groans beneath the burden; and there leave them, without reference or debate or further action upon them to the end of time, if we give them no intimation, through the ballot box, that we are in earnest in our prayers. This determination, however, to vote for no man who will not vote for the slave, is giving a new aspect to the Anti-Slavery enterprise. It is leading our politicians to feel, in the way in which they are most effectually taught to feel, that the movement cannot much longer be either slighted or disregarded. The slaveholding members of Congress would doubtless consent, as a compromise, to refer our petitions, and give them a decent burial, under the auspices of the Committee on the District of Columbia, if they could be assured that the matter shall rest there. But this determination to send men to Congress, who shall truly represent our sentiments on the subject of slavery, who will vote for liberty, notwithstanding southern menace and rage, has already produced in their minds no small alarm for the safety of the cherished institution, and, in the language of Mr. Pickens, has made the slave-holding power feel that its "*situation is critical.*"

Politicians throughout the land, as well as the friends of the slave, are now looking with intense interest, upon the canvass for a member to Congress in the fourth District in Massachusetts. The candidates in regular nomination, having declined or failed to answer satisfactorily the questions propounded them, the friends of the slave have scattered their votes, and in three successive trials defeated an election. The spectacle of some *seven hundred* voters, about equally divided between the two leading political parties, thus breaking their party

ranks at the call of humanity, is altogether new in the history of politics, and may well command our highest admiration. Should this noble band persevere in the course which they have so honorably, and thus far successfully pursued, they will render a service to the cause and the country, which cannot easily be appreciated. They will remove, in no small degree, the rebuke under which we are suffering, on account of the inconsistency of abolitionists elsewhere. They will show that there is a strength of principle in our ranks, of which politicians have not yet dreamed. They will render it still more certain, that to accomplish all that we aim at by political action, nothing is wanting but union and firmness in preferring the cause of the slave to every other interest.*

MEMOIR OF LOVEJOY—ACCOUNT OF THE ALTON RIOTS.

We were called at our last anniversary, to shed our tears over the grave of the departed Lovejoy. As citizens of his native State, as co-laborers with him in the great cause of human rights, we can but feel a deep interest in all that relates to him. During the year, a memoir of his life has been published, by one possessed of ample materials to do justice to his exalted worth. It is a noble monument to the genius, piety, philanthropy and indomitable moral courage of our departed brother. An extended account of the Alton riots, a work of thrilling interest, has also recently appeared from the pen of President Edward Beecher. We cannot but express the desire, that these publications may be extensively circulated in the State. The influence would be most salutary in rekindling the expiring flame of liberty,—in impressing anew those great principles of civil and religious freedom, which our fathers labored to establish, and for the maintenance of which they freely laid down their lives.

In these works, especially in the latter, the course of Lovejoy in the last mournful scene at Alton, is successfully vindicated, in the estimation of all, who believe that human Governments are rightfully clothed with power to protect, in any case, the rights of their subjects, by a resort to physical force. In these publications the fact is fully

* At the last trial, one of the obnoxious candidates, notwithstanding the large number of scattering votes, came within a few votes of being elected. It is not improbable therefore that the friends of the slave may ultimately fail in preventing a choice. Should this be the case, the moral effect of the example will not be the less salutary.

However party pride, or the hope of success, may keep the existing candidates before the District, individuals will not be likely again to be put in nomination, for whom abolitionists may not vote in consistency with their principles:

established, that so far from having been rash or imprudent, or headstrong, as he has sometimes been represented, Lovejoy was throughout the whole of this momentous crisis, calm, deliberate, prayerful,—ready to sacrifice every thing for the sake of peace, but the great fundamental right—dearer than life itself—the right freely to investigate, to utter and obey the truth.

The contest at Alton was for the maintenance of this right, against the demands of slavery to enchain the conscience, and padlock the lips of the free. Through the divisions, prejudices and pusillanimity of those who ought to have been to him, when this sacred right was assailed in his person, a tower of defence—the minions of despotism prevailed,—and LOVEJOY fell.

Alton the bloody city, still sits in the dust, her sin unexpiated, her character unredeemed. As if to complete her degradation, as if no item might be wanting to insure her lasting infamy, a grand jury of her citizens indicted the defenders of the press, for resisting the attempt by the mob to destroy it. And the leaders of this mob, when brought into court and clearly identified, were acquitted.

But though Alton still cowers under the lash of the slaveholder,—though men hold their rights there, only at the sufferance of slavery—the spirit of liberty is not extinct in the State. The tried friends and coadjutors of Lovejoy still live,—strong in conscious integrity, unbending in their purpose to maintain the cause, for the advocacy of which his lips are now closed in death. The first Anniversary of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society has recently been held, under circumstances the most encouraging. It was a solemn and affecting season. “He who called the *first meeting* to order, was not there; but his spirit presided.” In the unwavering conviction of the righteousness of the cause in which they are embarked, evinced by this meeting,—in the spirit of prayer, and humble sense of dependence upon God for a blessing upon the measures adopted for its promotion which prevailed, we see the certain indications of its speedy triumph in the State.

Let the friends of eternal slavery, tread lightly upon the ashes of Lovejoy. There is a voice from his grave, that is awaking this whole nation from its lethargic slumbers, and arousing it to the death-struggle with its deadliest sin. Every drop of the blood shed at Alton, is in thunder tones calling upon all, in whose bosoms the love of liberty still lives, to haste to the rescue. And they come, a host without number,—to re-assert the precious rights which have been cloven down; to re-establish those mighty engines—free speech and a free press—before which despotism has ever quailed, and which slavery has no power to withstand.

We cannot omit to remark, that the individuals, whose political aspirations led them to throw their influence into the wrong scale, in the proceedings at Alton, have all been defeated in their hopes. The notorious Lyander, the instigator and council of the mob, is now in prison awaiting his trial for a murderous attack upon another citizen of Alton. And several of his compeers in guilt are, for various offences, shut up in the public penitentiaries:

We may not here speak in terms we would wish, of our departed brother. While his bitter persecutors, and all who consented to his death are forgotten, or are recollected only in the infamy attached to them, in their relation to this deed of blood—LOVEJOY will be held in everlasting honor. His memory will never perish, his fame will never die. In the estimation of all future generations, he will be regarded as one of freedom's noblest, firmest advocates—And unborn millions, for whose deliverance from the iron bondage of American slavery he fell a sacrifice, will love and revere his name.

CONCLUSION.

In the great controversy in which we are engaged, we may not be called to seal our testimony with our blood. Yet whoever supposes it will be brought to a successful termination, without much of personal sacrifice on the part of abolitionists, has but feebly apprehended the magnitude of the evil, we are seeking to remove.

While for the fifty years previous to the present Anti-Slavery movement, we have been dreaming that slavery was waxing old and going to decay, it has been covertly lengthening its cords and strengthening its stakes continually. It has now spread itself over eleven States of the Union, has twenty eight Representatives in Congress, and has strongly intrenched itself in the commercial, political and religious interests of the country. Whoever, therefore, expects its removal without a thorough agitation of the great mass of society—a thorough waking up of all the selfish and malignant passions enlisted in its support, has given to the subject but a very superficial attention.

So long as we looked upon Slavery merely as an evil, to be terminated by some exceedingly slow and gradual process, and expended our sympathies upon the unfortunate slaveholder, rather than upon his oppressed victim, our course excited no opposition. The discovery and application of the doctrine of the inherent sinfulness of slavery in all circumstances, has revealed the real feelings and intentions of the slaveholder, and arrayed against us the whole tremendous power of this bloody system.

The effort to sustain slavery is the same, at the North and at the South. It is an effort to shut out light, to silence reason—to stifle

conscience, to quench the living fire of sympathy in the human soul. It is an effort to stay the onward march of liberty, to arrest the progress of civilization, to frustrate the plans and purposes of Jehovah for the intellectual and moral elevation of the whole great family of man.

In such a contest, who can doubt which way the victory will turn? Whatever advantages the slaveholding power may occasionally gain, its destruction is sure. The days of slavery with its chains, its whips, its tears of blood, are numbered. To hasten its downfall, is worthy our highest efforts as men, as patriots, as christians. Let us then consecrate ourselves anew to this great work. Let the cry of the perishing captive, the groans of three millions of our countrymen in chains, the suffering cause of religion and humanity, the judgments of Heaven upon our guilty nation, which even now do not linger,—urge us on. Strong in the strength of Him, who came into the world to bind up the broken heart, to proclaim liberty to the captives and to break every yoke, let us press forward in the great conflict before us.—And soon shall victory be written upon our banner, and the slave leap from his chains to call us BLESSED.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MAINE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT ITS
Fourth Annual Meeting,
HELD IN AUGUSTA, FEBRUARY 7th & 8th, 1839.

THURSDAY MORNING, February 7th.

The Maine Anti-Slavery Society met agreeably to notice, at the Baptist meeting house in Augusta, at 10 o'clock A. M.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Hon. S. M. Pond of Bucksport.—The Throne of Grace was addressed by Rev. G. F. Cox of Portland.

Mr. Charles L. Remond was chosen assistant Secretary.

On motion, it was voted that a Committee of nine be chosen, to bring forward business for the meeting.

Ichabod Coddington, Rev. David Thurston, Rev. S. L. Pomroy, Samuel Fessenden Esq. Rev. S. Lovell, Rev. S. Thurston, Rev. J. C. Lovejoy, Rev. D. B. Randall, Rev. T. O. Lincoln, were chosen.

A Committee of two were appointed, to take a list of the delegates, and friends of the cause present.

On motion it was voted that all the friends of immediate emancipation who may be present, whether they have been formally appointed delegates or not, be invited to sit and take part with us in our exercises.

On motion of Mr. Pomroy, it was voted that we now hear the report of the Executive Committee.

The Annual Report was then read by Prof. W. Smyth, the Corresponding Secretary, and, on motion of Gen. Appleton, was accepted, and laid on the table for further action.

The following gentlemen were chosen a Committee, to nominate officers for the Society for the ensuing year.—Rev. Stephen Thurston of Prospect, Wm. A. Crocker of Machias, N.

Winslow of Portland, Augustus Alden of Hallowell, Rev. W. Parker of Bremen, N. Swazey of Bath, and Jacob Abbot of Farmington.

Voted to adjourn to 2 o'clock P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

Meeting called to order by the President. Prayer by Rev. T. N. Lord of Topsham.

The Committee of Arrangements reported the following resolution, which after discussion was adopted.

Resolved, That while it is not true, that the Anti-Slavery movements in the free States, have retarded discussion on the subject of Slavery in the South, still if it were true, it would be no reason why our efforts should cease, unless it can be made to appear that our principles are false.

Mr. Remond presented the two following resolutions,

Resolved, That the existing prejudice against people of color, so peculiar to this nation of professed republicans, is the result of a vitiated education, and is eminently calculated to keep the unfortunate subjects of it ignorant, degraded, and vicious; and whether entertained by the Christian, Statesman, Merchant, or Mechanic, ill comports with the character of either.

Resolved, That those laws of the Southern States which countenance the seizure, imprisonment, detention, and selling into hopeless bondage of persons of color, guiltless of crime, upon the presumption, founded only on the color of their skin, that they are slaves, is a flagrant violation of the Constitution, and at open war with the American bill of rights; and as such deserves the execration of every lover of his country and its free institutions.

Adjourned to 6 1-2 o'clock P. M.

THURSDAY EVENING.

Meeting called to order by the President. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Waterman of Leeds.

On motion, voted to choose a committee of eight to report on the subject of the Advocate of Freedom; when Messrs. Caldwell of Wiscasset, Smyth of Brunswick, Bowen of Bloomfield, Shepard of Bangor, Thurston of Prospect, Lovejoy of Oldtown, and Perley of Bridgton, were chosen.

The resolutions offered by Mr. Remond, were further discussed and passed—When, the hour of 8 o'clock having arrived, Mr. St. Clair, agreeably to appointment, delivered an address, on the subject of the connection between our principles and measures.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

FRIDAY MORNING.

The Society met according to adjournment. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Parker of Brewer.

Mr. Thurston of Prospect offered the following amendment to the third article in the Constitution, so that instead of "by moral and religious means and no other" to read, by means, such as law, philanthropy, and Religion can sanction—which was accepted.

The Committee of nomination reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year; the report was accepted and the gentleman severally chosen.

HON. SAMUEL M. POND, *President*.

WILLIAM SMYTH, *Corresponding Secretary*.

STEPHEN SEWALL, Esq. *Recording Secretary*.

ELIHU ROBINSON, *Treasurer*.

A. D. RICE, *Auditor*.

Vice Presidents.

Rev. Ezekiel Robinson, Samuel Fessenden, Esq., Francis Hamlin, B. Tappan, D. D., Rev. D. B. Randall, Seth Perkins, Rev. S. Thurston, John Godfrey, Esq., Rev. James Gilpatrick, W. A. Crocker, Esq. Rev. Samuel Hutchins, Rev. David Shepard.

Executive Committee.

Rev. D. THURSTON, Winthrop.

"J. C. LOVEJOY, Old Town.

EDWARD SOUTHWICK, Augusta.

ELIHU ROBINSON, "

S. K. GILMAN, Hallowell.

Gen. JAMES APPLETON, Portland.

Mr. Remond offered the following, being the substance of a resolution passed by the Indiana State Convention, which was adopted.

Resolved, That we believe with Washington, that "some plan ought to be adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law;" with Jefferson "that the Almighty has no attribute which can take part with the slaveholder in such contest;" with Lafayette that "it is indeed mortifying to see in this land of free institutions a large portion of the people slaves to the rest, and that slavery is a dark spot on the face of the nation;" with Bolivar, that "slavery is an infringement on all law;" with Wm. Pitt, that "slavery is in mass a

systems of enormities which incontrovertibly bid defiance to every regulation that ingenuity can devise, or power effect, *but total abolition*;" with John Wesley, that "men-stealers and men-buyers are the worst of thieves and that it is impossible that any child of man should ever be born a slave;" with Jonathan Edwards that "to hold a man in a state of slavery is to be every day and hour guilty of robbing him of his liberty, or of man-stealing;" with Wilberforce "that this system is the full measure of pure, unmixed, unsophisticated wickedness and stands without a rival;" with Henry Brougham that "it is a wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man;" with Rowland Hill that "slavery is made up of every crime which cruelty, treachery, and we may add avarice can invent;" with Abbe Raynal that he "who supports the system of slavery is the enemy of the human race;" with Henry Clay that "it is a curse to the master, a wrong, a grievous wrong to the Slave;" with John Jay that "we hope the time may soon come, when all our inhabitants of every color and denomination shall be free and equal partakers of our liberty;" and that in view of all these considerations therefore it ought to be immediately abandoned.

On motion of Rev. G. F. Cox, of Portland,

Resolved, That this Body respectfully request the American Anti-Slavery Society to select a Committee of twenty five, more or less, from the several free States, of whom, if it be their pleasure, Hon. J. G. Birney shall be chairman, to meet in N. York or Philadelphia. as the chairman shall direct on the ——— day of ——— to consult with the same number of Gentlemen from the slave holding States, selected by him or the South, or who shall have been invited by said chairman—on the great question of the UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION of the Slaves in America; and to report the result of their deliberations through the press; and, if a favorable result be obtained, to proffer to them the aid of the friends of Emancipation in the North.—

The Committee of arrangements reported the following resolutions, which were adopted.

Resolved, That the great reason why this society has not been more efficient, has been the want of a more perfect organization.

Resolved, That the interest of the Anti-Slavery cause in this State, imperatively demands that Anti-Slavery depositories be established at Portland, Augusta and Bangor.

Resolved, That this Society will take measures to procure a library agent, whose duty it shall be to establish, if possible, an Anti-Slavery library in every town, village and district in the State.

Resolved, That this Society feels itself under high obligation to render to the American A. S. Society all the pecuniary aid within its power, after meeting the absolute demands of the cause in this State.

After the passage of the last resolution, a committee was chosen to request all the friends of the slaves present, to aid the Society, by paying one dollar or more, in carrying forward its benevolent designs; at which time, about two hundred dollars were obtained.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

The President in the chair.—Prayer by Rev. S. Thurston.

The Committee on the paper reported as follows, all of which was accepted.

Your Committee are deeply sensible of the important service done to our cause, by the publication of the Advocate of Freedom, and know of no one measure of greater promise than its general circulation; we beg leave to submit the following resolutions.

Resolved, 1. That we entertain a high and grateful sense of the service done to the cause of humanity, by the publication of the Advocate of Freedom, and would here record our hearty thanks to the Executive Committee, both for its establishment, and the able manner in which it has been conducted.

Resolved, 2. That in our opinion, abolition principles and measures can in no way be so successfully and extensively promulgated, at the same expense, as by a thorough inundation of the public with the Advocate of Freedom; we therefore hereby pledge ourselves to do all we can consistently to effect this desirable object.

Resolved, 3. That the interests of the cause in this State, require that the Advocate of Freedom should be published weekly, and of such size that it may be furnished to subscribers at one dollar a year.

The report of the Corresponding Secretary was taken up for further action, when it was voted, that it be placed in the hands of the Executive Committee for publication.

Mr. Codding presented the following resolutions, which, after an animated discussion, were adopted.

Resolved, 1. That at each successive developement of the spirit and movements of the Colonization scheme, we are only re-assured that it originated in prejudice against the colored man; and that in its entire action upon him, it cuts the sinews of effort, kills hope and “sinks in death damps the upward aspirations of the soul.”

Resolved, 2. That the idea of putting a stop to the Slave trade and evangelizing Africa, by the establishment of colonies made up of our free colored people and emancipated slaves, is one of the most stupendous deceptions that was ever palmed off upon a credulous people.

Resolved, 3. That in the late passage of Atherton's resolutions, we are furnished with another fearful illustration of slaveholding arrogance and rapacity, but not more than of the pitiful servility of Northern Representatives, in thus aiding the South to lay on Slavery's bloody altar the People's Sacred Rights.

Resolved, 4. That it is the imperious duty of every abolitionist, who can conscientiously exercise the elective franchise, to go promptly to the polls and deposite his vote in favor of some man, who, if elected, will use his utmost Constitutional power for the immediate overthrow of slavery.

FRIDAY EVENING.

Meeting called to order by the President. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Hathaway.

On motion of Samuel Fessenden Esq. of Portland, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted.

Whereas repeated demands have been made on two successive Governors of this State, by the Governor of Georgia for the surrender, as fugitives from justice, of two citizens of this State, on a charge of crime; committed within the State of Georgia; and whereas the said Governors of Maine have refused to surrender said citizens on such demands; and believing as we do, that this case does not come within the provision of the constitution, which provides for the surrender of fugitives from justice; because, beside other sufficient reasons, it is most evident that the Governor on whom the demand is made, is bound to ascertain the fact, whether the offence charged be a crime within the meaning of the constitution; for it is clear, if admitting all that is charged to be true, there is no crime, the Governor is not at liberty to surrender; and by "crimes," as intended by the constitution, are meant such offences as are *mala in se* and not *mala prohibita*—such offences as are in the language of Chancellor Kent, crimes of great atrocity, and such as are so considered by all civilized nations; therefore

Resolved, That the crime, charged on Philbrook and Kellerman by the State of Georgia, and for which they were demanded, is not a felony or crime within the meaning of the Constitution.

Resolved, further, That our late Governors Dunlap and Kent, are entitled to the confidence and respect of the community, for their firmness in refusing to surrender said Philbrook and Kellerman to the justice and tender mercy of Georgia, on the demand of her Governors.

On motion of Mr. May, of Winthrop,

Resolved, That — dollars be appropriated from the funds of this Society to purchase 27 volumes of the life of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, who fell a martyr to the freedom of the Press, and the liberty of speech; and that this Society respectfully present one copy of the same to each of the States in this Union, and one to our national Congress to be deposited in each of the State libraries and in the national library.

On motion of Mr. St. Clair, of Massachusetts,

Resolved, That the recent publication of President Wayland, entitled "The Limitations of Human Responsibility," which has been extensively circulated and adopted, as a text-book, by the Slaveholders of the South and their friends at the North, so far as it relates to Anti-Slavery action, is inaccurate in its statements, sophistical and deceptive in its reasonings, absurd in its conclusions and totally unworthy of the reputation of its distinguished Author.

The Committee appointed to make a roll of the delegates, reported the names of two hundred and seventy delegates and friends of the cause present. The Society then adjourned.